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A SHORT HISTORY OF
THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

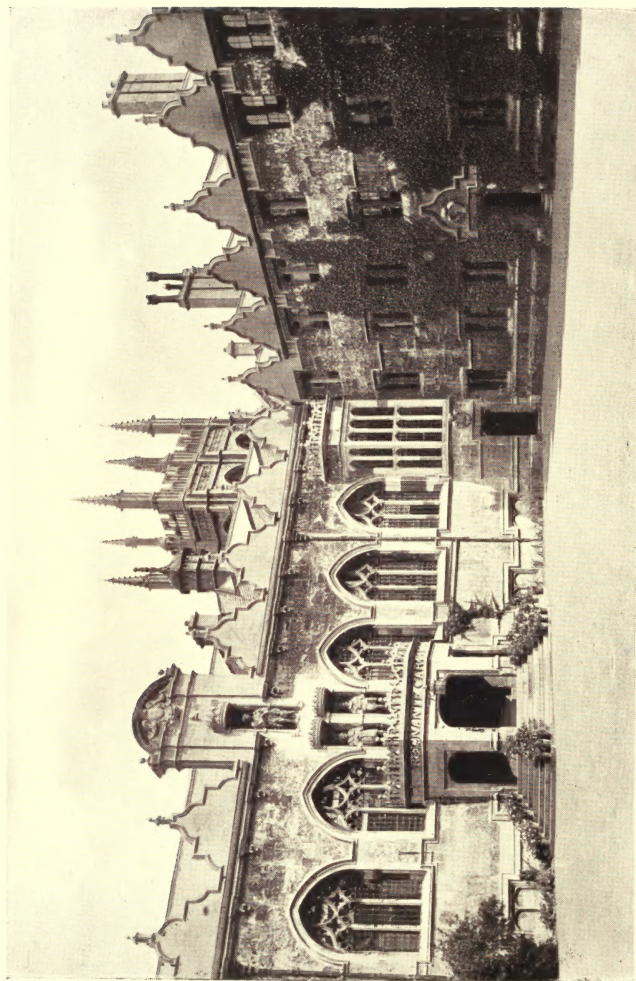
By S. L. OLLARD

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THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

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QUADRANGLE OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Frontispiece.

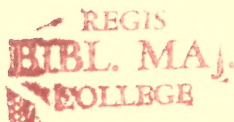
A Short History of the Oxford Movement

BY

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WITH THIRTY-TWO ILLUSTRATIONS



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TO MY WIFE
MARY OLLARD,
IN GRATITUDE FOR HER HELP
AT EVERY STAGE OF THIS BOOK

PREFACE

THIS book is in part based upon four lectures which were given to the S. Paul's Lecture Society in the crypt of S. Paul's Cathedral in January, 1909, and which were afterwards printed. It owes something also to two lectures given in the Examination Schools at Oxford to the Summer School of Clergy on July 14 and 15, 1914, at the invitation of the Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. H. S. Holland; while the chapter on the Ceremonial Revival is a very complete re-casting of a paper read before the Guildford Clerical Society on December 8, 1914. I have had the advantage of consulting in past years the MS. Collections of the late Dr. J. R. Bloxam in the Library of Magdalen College, Oxford, and the collection of papers made by the late W. J. Copeland for his contemplated History of the Oxford Movement, which was never written, a collection which has been lent to me by his niece, Mrs. Copeland-Borlase. My debts to various printed works I have tried to acknowledge in the footnotes to the text. I owe

most, like every student of the Oxford Movement, to the famous book by Dean Church, which, though it only tells the story for the first twelve years (1833-45) is a model for all who would write truthfully and fairly about the Movement as a whole ; and Dean Church's book originally fired me, more than twenty years ago, with a love for the Revival of which it tells.

The story of the Ceremonial Revival has never, so far as I know, been told very fully before. The only systematic account of it known to me is in the evidence given by the present Archbishop of Canterbury before the Ecclesiastical Discipline Commission in February, 1905 ; which is of special value for the period after 1854, when the prosecutions began ; the earlier period is treated more slightly. His Grace laid some stress on an article by J. W. Croker in *The Quarterly Review* for May, 1843, on "Rubrics and Ritual in the Church of England." That article, it appears from Mr. Croker's papers, owed a great deal to his neighbour, Samuel Wilberforce, then Archdeacon of Surrey ; and in the light of the facts recorded in this book it is seen to be very imperfectly informed as to the Movement with which it deals. Mr. S. Baring-Gould in *The Church Revival* (1914), has given many facts as to

this part of the Revival, but they are scattered about his book.

If I were to mention the names of all those whom I have to thank for help and information, I should have to make a very long list. But I must name here those who have kindly read and criticized the whole or parts of this book in proof; Mrs. Inge, of Holywell Lodge, Oxford, whose acquaintance with the story of the Movement is more intimate than that of any one I have known; the Rev. Dr. F. E. Brightman, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Prebendary of Lincoln; Mr. D. C. Lathbury; the Right Hon. George W. E. Russell; and, most of all, Mr. Gordon Crosse. The aid of another helper I have acknowledged on a previous page.

S. L. O.

October, 1915.

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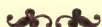
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THE OXFORD MOVEMENT



CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING OF THE MOVEMENT

NO story in the whole history of the English Church, since S. Augustine landed A.D. 597, is so splendid as the story of the Oxford Movement. It has every sort of interest. It is exciting, romantic, chivalrous, like the story of a crusade. It has its humour as well as its tragedy. And the actors in it were among the most spiritual men who have ever lived in England. They were men of genius besides : poets like Keble, Newman, Isaac Williams, and Faber ; men of letters like Newman and Dean Church ; preachers whose sermons are read to-day,

divines and theologians whose fame will last as long as Christianity endures. So that a more interesting subject hardly exists in the whole of Church history.

The story has this further attraction. The actors in it were so very much men of our own day, as they were of our own flesh and blood, and it is so easy to get into touch with them. The ink of their letters is not yet brown ; the scenes in which they lived and moved still stand almost unchanged. Oxford has altered in the past eighty years, but its main features and certainly its principal buildings remain almost as they were when the Movement began. So it is possible to slip back into the very heart of it all without much trouble, for the lives of the men of the Oxford Movement, their letters and papers, their most intimate and sacred thoughts, have been opened to the public gaze and printed for the world to read. Never in all history have men made such a clean breast of their lives ; never before have leaders of a movement so utterly and completely shown their hands. And to dip into the story is, for most readers, to realize that for high adventure and for chivalrous gallantry there is no story like it. For the men of the Movement were, as Dean Church says, "the salt of their generation."¹ "Like

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, 8vo, 1892 ed., p. 6.



S. MARY'S, OXFORD: NAVE, LOOKING EAST.

them were there none before them, neither after them have arisen any like them." Never, probably, have men so gifted made such an utter sacrifice of their prospects and chances in this world for the sake of the cause which they felt to be true. "All for love, or the world well lost," is a true motto for the men of the Oxford Movement.

Officially—that is to say, in the opinion of its leaders—the Oxford Movement began with a sermon preached before His Majesty's Judges of Assize at Oxford on Sunday, July 14th, 1833.¹ The place was S. Mary's, the University Church, and its pulpit and its seating arrangements remain to-day exactly as they were then. The preacher was Mr. John Keble, the most distinguished of the distinguished Fellows of Oriel College. Thirty-one years later Mr. Newman wrote, "I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious Movement of 1833."² Mr. Keble's

¹ It is worth while insisting that the Oxford Movement began at Oxford, since distinguished scholars have been found who have traced its origin in one case to Ireland (in the person of Mr. Alexander Knox), in another to the important Cambridge divine, Mr. Hugh James Rose. For these views see the *Guardian*, September 7, 14, 21, and 28, 1887, for A. Knox, and Burgon's *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, "Hugh James Rose," for the claims of that teacher.

² *Apologia*, 1st ed., p. 100.

sermon was published under the title of *National Apostasy*.¹ It was a ringing call to Churchmen to realize the immediate danger in which the English Church stood, and to rally to her aid.

To realize the method and the scope of the Movement, to understand its later development and its records of failure and success, it is important to understand clearly the circumstances out of which it came.

Rarely before had the English Church stood in such apparent or such real danger as in the middle of the reign of King William IV in 1833. Of it the Apostolic words were literally true, "Without were fightings, within were fears." The dangers grouped themselves into two divisions.

There were first and most obviously the political dangers. For a generation the Church, and especially the clergy, had been closely allied with the Tory party, and the Tory party had become more and more reactionary and opposed to change, and not to change merely, but to the people's will. By 1833 a break-up had begun. In 1828 the Tory Government had been forced to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, and

¹ See the sermon *National Apostasy*, 27 pp., Oxford, for J. H. Parker, 1833. It was reprinted in his *Sermons Academic and Occasional*, 1847 ; 2nd ed., 1848.

a year later had come Roman Catholic Emancipation. Most Churchmen had been bitterly hostile to these measures, and emancipation was regarded, and especially in Oxford, as a betrayal of the Church. Then, after three troubled years, during which the country was on the very edge of a revolution, the great Reform Bill had been passed into law in 1832, and the rotten fabric of Parliamentary representation, as England had known it for a century and a half, had come crashing down. The Bishops, as a whole, had voted with the Tory Lords against the Reform Bill; in 1831 of the majority of forty-one against it, twenty-one were bishops; while the beneficed clergy, reflecting the opinions of the squires and country gentlemen, were of the same mind: there was, in the Radical phrase of the time, "a black recruiting sergeant"¹ in every village. In 1833 the Whigs were really in power at last; their allies were the Dissenters and the emancipated Roman Catholics; and the English Church looked to receive small mercy from them. Probably the English Church, at any rate in the towns, was never more unpopular. The Whig Premier (Charles, second Earl Grey) had warned the bishops to "set their house in order," and though he had not finished

¹ G. W. E. Russell, *A Pocketful of Sixpences*, 1907. p. 341.

the quotation (2 *Kings* xx. 1) others completed it for him.¹

Taking the cue from Lord Grey the mob at Bristol in a riot burnt the bishop's palace to the ground (the bishop was Dr. Robert Gray, father of the famous Bishop of Capetown). Other bishops were mobbed in the streets, notably Archbishop Howley in the streets of Canterbury, to whom, indeed, the experience afforded an occasion for a display of his characteristic meekness; for when his chaplain complained that a dead cat had been flung into the carriage, the archbishop replied that he should be thankful it was not a live one.²

Certainly the position of the Church as a State establishment seemed doomed, and so detached an observer as Dr. Arnold wrote

¹ See an amusing letter from a young Whig statesman, Mr. George Villiers (later fourth Earl of Clarendon), to his sister :

"Do you know the passage in Scripture which Grey began, and left to the Bishops to finish? It is to some prophet (not Isaiah) sent to, I forget whom, to tell him to put his house in order—for *thou shalt die, thou shalt not live*, a case of home-thrust, I think."—*Life and Letters of the Fourth Earl of Clarendon*, i. 64, 65.

The prophet was Isaiah, sent to Hezekiah. Mr. Villiers, however, considered the Prime Minister's attack "a gross indecency."

² *Dictionary of English Church History*, s.v. Howley.

in June, 1832, "The Church, as it now stands, no human power can save." ¹

As an earnest of what was coming, a Bill to reduce the Irish bishoprics by one-half, to amalgamate the ten sees so suppressed with the remainder, and to devote the income so saved to the payment of the Irish Church "cess," was introduced by the Government in 1833, and was before the House of Lords when Mr. Keble preached his sermon ; indeed, the sermon was in part directed against this measure. This Bill, which passed within a week of Mr. Keble's protest, was the occasion (in the sense of the last apparent cause) of the Oxford Movement. For it looked uncommonly like a declaration of war ; and since the Irish Church was then established, the turn of the English bishoprics might very well come next. Such were the political dangers ; the establishment was gravely threatened, and some sweeping measure of dis-endowment might be expected to come soon.

From this one point of view the Oxford Movement can be regarded (as it has been) ² as an attempt to bolster up the unpopular Tory party and as a rally in favour of Church and State. Such a view is a very short-sighted

¹ Stanley, *Life of Arnold*, i. 326.

² By Dean Stanley in the *Edinburgh Review* (April 1881), p. 309.

one, but it has in it just the amount of truth which is outlined here.

The second group of dangers lay deeper and were far more serious, and the gravest of these was Erastianism. Erastianism was not the teaching of the German thinker Erastus, but rather of the Englishmen Selden and Hobbes, who wrote in the seventeenth century ; it was the view that neither the Church nor the Bible was the final authority in religious belief, but the State.¹ Unconsciously for a century and a half, at the least, the Church had inclined, in practice, more and more in such a direction. And it was against such a view of the relation of the Church to the State that Mr. Keble raised his voice in his sermon. The last clear protest against State tyranny over the Church had come from the Nonjurors, and it is a significant fact that in 1832 an edition of the works of Charles Leslie, one of the wisest as well as one of the most learned of the Nonjurors, had been issued from the Press of the University at Oxford. There can be little doubt that Mr. Keble's thought had been cleared and sharpened by the study of Leslie.

¹ See Dr. J. N. Figgis, s.v. "Erastianism," in *Dictionary of English Church History*, and more fully on "Erastus and Erastianism" in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, ii. 66 sqq. [October, 1900].

The danger from the Erastianism of the Government was obvious in 1833, and a protest against it was a note of the Movement from its birth. And it was no merely political danger, for Erastianism has ever proved, in England as elsewhere, the most insidious foe of spiritual religion.

The most vital danger, however, was even more subtle. A new intellectual force had burst on the world with the French Revolution. It was what Dr. Newman in the *Apologia* calls "Liberalism." It was not what is meant by political Liberalism in England now—a creed which was the very life-blood of Mr. Gladstone, who was, up to the day of his death, a devoted son of the Oxford Movement. The Liberalism which was threatening in 1833 was quite another thing.¹ It was an attack on Christianity itself. It believed that rational intelligence, education, and civilization would cure all the evils and sorrows of mankind. Its standard was the "ordinary experience of the man in the street." It had no use for reverence, awe, mysticism. Its spirit had burst out in infidel fury at the French Revolution, but it was at work more quietly at this time in

¹ For an analysis of it see H. S. Holland, Introduction to *Lyra Apostolica*, pp. xxvi seq.; Methuen, London, "Library of Devotion" series. Less fully, Church, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 18, 19; J. H. Newman, *Apologia*, ed. 1891, Note A, "Liberalism."

lecture rooms of German universities, unknown as yet to Englishmen, save to two strangely well-informed scholars, Mr. H. J. Rose and Mr. E. B. Pusey. In 1833 this Liberalism was abroad in England only as a fashionable idea, "the march of mind."¹ Education, enlightenment, reason—these were all mankind needed. The soul, with its needs and aspirations, sin and its consequences, faith, and the rest—these the Liberals of the day were inclined to regard as "the rubbish of superstition." This popular philosophy, which in the sphere of legislation certainly accomplished some admirable results, was a real though deeper cause of the Movement of 1833. "For to these men," the men of the Oxford Movement, "religion really meant the most awful and most seriously personal thing on earth."² Anything which tampered with it tampered with something more sacred than life itself. So that the Movement had not merely what might be called an ecclesiastical or a theological basis; it had still more deeply a moral one."³ For in Liberalism the men of the Movement saw (no one to-day would question their far-sightedness) "the tendencies

¹ cf. T. L. Peacock in *Crotchet Castle*, 1831, especially chap. ii, "The March of Mind," and *Letters and Memorials of Archbishop Trench*, i. 44 (a letter of 1829).

² Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

of modern thought to destroy the basis of revealed religion, and ultimately of all that can be called religion at all.”¹

And a fourth danger in 1833 was hardly less pressing or less vital than the last. It was the general ignorance of the principles for which the English Church stood; and, strange as it may seem in the light of after events, the fact is that the Oxford Movement was also in its origin anti-Roman.

Its enemies from the early days have laboured to show that the object of the Movement has been to make England Roman Catholic. Nothing can be farther from the truth. In 1828 had come the successful agitation for Roman Catholic Emancipation; but the emancipated Roman Catholics, and especially the Irish under Daniel O’Connell, had allied with the Whigs against the English Church. And so, very really, the Movement was born out of the “anti-Roman feelings of the emancipation time. . . . It was to avert the danger of people becoming Romanists from ignorance of Church principles.”² That is witnessed to (and in view of later developments it needs to be kept in mind) by two of the earliest documents of the Movement. In the Preface (“Adver-

¹ Church, *Occasional Papers*, ii. 386.

² Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 241.

tisement," it is called) to Mr. Keble's Assize Sermon, when the Movement was only a week old,¹ he asks, "What answer can we make henceforth to the partisans of the Bishop of Rome when they taunt us with being a mere Parliamentary Church?"² And in a direction to booksellers for selling the *Tracts for the Times* the tracts are to be advertized as "*Tracts . . . on the privileges of the Church and against Popery and Dissent.*"³ That is a point which must not be forgotten.

Old-fashioned Churchmanship, as it was called, was by no means dead, and belief in the English Church as a living part of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church was held in unsuspected places, but the belief had become very generally obscured. There was a remarkable prophecy made by one of the old High Churchmen, Mr. Thomas Sikes, Rector of Guilsborough in Northamptonshire (who died in December, 1834, soon after the Movement began).⁴ This prophecy was

¹ The sermon was preached July 14, 1833. The advertisement is dated "July 22, 1833."

² *National Apostasy*, p. iv.

³ See a private *Memorandum to Friends* with corrections in Newman's hand in the possession of Dr. W. H. Hutton, Archdeacon of Northampton and Canon of Peterborough.

⁴ Mr. Sikes is frequently called "Dr. Sikes" by Dr. Liddon in his *Life of Dr. Pusey*. But there appears to be no reason for the title. His degrees at Oxford were B.A.



JOHN KEBLE.

delivered in a conversation with Mr. Copeland, whose name will appear later in the story.¹ "Wherever I go all about the country," said Mr. Sikes, "... I have observed one universal want in the teaching of the [clergy] ... the uniform suppression of one great truth. ... There is no account given anywhere, so far as I can see, of the Holy Catholic Church. ... Some day, not far distant, [this doctrine] will ... have its reprisals. ... The effects of it I even dread to contemplate, especially if it came suddenly." The fulfilment of this prophecy is another matter ; it is in point here as a striking witness to a serious danger in 1833—the widespread ignorance of the basis on which the Church stood.

It would be easy to show how each of these dangers is recognized in Mr. Keble's sermon. Liberalism is not indeed mentioned, the name had hardly begun to be ; but the tone and temper of the sermon, its simplicity and its choice of the weapons that were to be used in

and M.A. For some reason Mr. Sikes is omitted from the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹ The whole conversation is printed in the *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, ed. Anne Mozley, vol. ii, Appendix pp. 483-4. It is quoted also in Liddon's *Life of Dr. Pusey*, i. 257-8 ; less fully in Archdeacon Churton's *Memoir of Joshua Watson*, 1861, i. 51, 52.

the fight, constant prayer, remonstrance, above all a more consecrated life—these were the direct antithesis of the Liberalism of the day.

These dangers need to be kept well in view if the Oxford Movement as a whole is to be understood.

There were other and more general causes of the Movement. The reaction from the horrors of the French Revolution had caused men to look with more favour on the venerable traditions of the past; there was the whole Romantic movement in Western Europe, of which the Waverley Novels were the most famous example in England. It is alleged that the influx of French *émigré* priests into England had softened the old asperities and the fear of Rome. The strength of this latter cause seems very doubtful, for the struggle for Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1828–9 had fanned into flame much of the old horror of popery and the old unreasoning Protestant prejudices.¹

One further point needs emphasis. It is

¹ Mr. E. S. Purcell, in his *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillips De Lisle*, i. 166, 167, takes the opposite view. He discusses at some length the remote and immediate causes of the Catholic Revival in England in chapters viii and ix of that volume. Interesting as he is, Mr. Purcell is a very inaccurate writer where the English Church is concerned.

held sometimes that the Oxford Movement was a reaction from the earlier Oxford school which had held sway, at any rate at Oriel, from the year 1800 till the Movement began. This was the school of the Noetics,¹ as they were called, Archbishop Whately, Dr. Arnold, Bishop Hampden, and their friends, who would have been called "Broad Churchmen" at a later day. These men represented much of the talent and thought of Oxford, and they were emphatically Latitudinarian in theology. It is said that the Oxford Movement was a reaction from them. Mr. Mark Pattison, whose sympathies in later life were wholly with them, strongly denies this view. The Oxford Movement, he insisted, was a direct result of this older Oriel school; "they implanted the germ," he said. Though, in his view, the Noetics were men of no learning, and men who did not read, yet "they sat in their easy chairs and thought." They had no dogmas and they left no books, but their searching arguments compelled men to sound their intellectual position, and thus while they broke down the shallow arguments of men who merely defended the established order, they drove them back on the real bases of the

¹ This school has sprung into notice in recent years. A laudatory and not very accurate account of them was published in 1909, *Pre-Tractarian Oxford*, by W. Tuckwell.

Church position, the Fathers and the Councils and the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church.¹

With such dangers and such forces at work, at the risk of seeming to digress, it is necessary, to read the story right, to look at the condition of things within the English Church. And there the state of things was enough to give the boldest cause to fear. Never, in the whole of its tangled story, had the English Church as a whole sunk to the depth it had reached in 1833.² It is easy to exaggerate the state of things, and there were oases in that desert, as the story here to be told will show ; but on the whole and broadly, in 1833, the English Church appeared to be nearly spiritually dead. Good evidence for the state of things can be gained from two witnesses—two novelists of that day—Charles Dickens and Jane Austen. Every one knows the *Pickwick Papers*. In that work the clergyman certainly appears, but almost as part of the Christmas decorations, along with the holly and mistletoe, and there is nothing to suggest that the rector or the curate is a Christian priest whose first duty is the cure of souls. Quite certainly none of the party at Dingley Dell dreamt of a Celebration

¹ See in *The Academy*, July 1, 1882, a review of T. Mozley's *Reminiscences* by Mark Pattison.

² See Perceval, *A Collection of Papers connected with the Theological Movement of 1833*, p. 25, London, Rivington, 1842.

of the Holy Communion as part of the Christmas morning service to which they went.¹ And so in Miss Austen's novels. The chief employment of her clergy is to win an appropriate wife, and in her novel of *Mansfield Park* the fashionable young lady who meets a clerical admirer at dinner is thankful that nothing in his dress would have betrayed the profession to which he belonged. In fact, the picture of the clergyman of the time suggests that they had gradually forgotten their calling. They had become, for the most part, amiable and respectable gentlemen, who were satisfied to read Morning and Afternoon Service on a Sunday, and to dislike Dissenters.

The bishops were little better. Dr. Brownlow North was bishop from 1771 to 1820.² His chaplain and son-in-law examined two candidates for Holy Orders in a tent on the cricket-field where he was engaged as one of the players. Dr. John Douglas was bishop from

¹ Such a state of things died hard. Considerably over fifty churches in the Diocese of Norwich had no celebration of Holy Communion on Christmas Day, 1900. (See evidence of the Bishop of Norwich (Dr. Sheepshanks) before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. *Minutes of Evidence*, vol. iii, p. 248, 1906.)

² Lichfield, 1771-4; Worcester, 1774-81; Winchester, 1781-1820.

1787 to 1807.¹ His chaplain examined a candidate for Ordination while he (the chaplain) was shaving, and stopped the examination when the candidate had construed two words.² An example of the qualifications exacted by such bishops from their Ordination candidates is on record in another case. In 1822 George Spencer, son of the Lord Spencer of the day, was to be ordained in order to take the family living. He applied to the Bishop of Peterborough, and wrote to the examining-chaplain to know what books he would have to read. That gentleman replied : "As far as I am concerned, in my character of examiner, it is impossible that I could ever entertain any idea of subjecting a gentleman with whose talents and good qualities I am so well acquainted . . . to any examination except one as a matter of form, for which a verse in the Greek Testament and an Article of the Church of England returned into Latin will be amply sufficient."³ As indeed it proved.

Bishop Watson of Llandaff (from 1782 to 1816) illustrates the condition of affairs almost better (or worse) than any other. This bishop, it must be said, wrote *An Apology for Chris-*

¹ Carlisle, 1787-91 ; Salisbury, 1791-1807.

² See *Memoir of Bishop C. J. Blomfield*, i. 59.

³ Rev. Fr. Pius, *Life of Fr. Ignatius of S. Paul*, p. 99. Duffy, Dublin, 1866.

tianity, which was considered in its day a very masterly performance. But though he was Bishop of Llandaff for thirty-four years, Bishop Watson never resided in his diocese, and (to quote the *Annual Register*) "passed the evening of his life chiefly at his seat of Calgarth in Westmorland, where he actively employed himself in rural decorations and agricultural improvements." This is more than confirmed by the bishop himself. "I pursued my intention," he writes, "of retiring in great manner from public life, and laid in 1789" (he had then been bishop seven years) "the foundation of my house on the banks of the Windermere. I have now spent," he continues, "above twenty years in this delightful country, but my time has not been consumed in field diversions, in idle visitings, in county bickerings, in indolence or intemperance; no, it has been spent in supporting the religion and constitution of the country by seasonable publications, and principally" the adverb is significant, "in building farmhouses, blasting rocks, making bad land good, in planting larches, and in planting in the hearts of my children principles of piety, of benevolence, and self-government."¹ So complacently could an English bishop of the early nineteenth century describe and account for his life and

¹ *Annual Register* (1816), pp. 217, 218.

work. And Cardiff and the South Wales coalfields were in the diocese of Bishop Watson. The pictures of the bishops of that day can be seen in the college halls at Oxford and Cambridge. Their appearance adds point to Dr. Liddon's remark to a friend¹ to whom he was showing the portrait at Christ Church, Oxford, of a rather bloated bishop of that date, who ordained Mr. Keble deacon: "Is it not strange, dear friend, to reflect that *that person* should have been chosen, in the Providential order, to connect Mr. Keble with the Apostles?"

If further illustration of the state of popular religion be needed, this further fact is in evidence. On Easter Day in the year 1800 there was one Celebration of the Holy Communion in S. Paul's Cathedral, and that, of course, at midday. At that service, to quote the bishop of the time, "no more than six persons were found at the Table of the LORD."² With worldly bishops and a worldly clergy the Church was not likely to have a great hold on the hearts of her children. The day of visitation was at hand: ominous changes lay ahead; and never was the Church less ready to meet them than in 1833.

¹ The friend was the Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell; see his *Life of Dr. Liddon*, p. 178.

² Abbey and Overton, *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, one-vol. ed., p. 454.

There were relics of better things. Roughly, two schools of thought divided the Church¹ at the time—the old Orthodox or High Church and the Evangelical party, “Top-boots or Exeter Hall.” The Orthodox claimed to be founded on the old English divines. They preached what would be called “sensible” sermons. They were at their best manly, reserved, sometimes scholarly, priding themselves especially on their common sense. “The worst of them were pluralists, country gentlemen in orders, who rode to hounds, and shot and danced, and often did worse things.” There were among them few men of mark, spiritually or intellectually, save here and there a man who preserved the old tradition of fasting and of the daily service. These two practices, Dean Church says, were “kept up more widely than is commonly supposed.”² The great tradition of the Caroline divines was still held by able and learned men among both the clergy and the laity. So recently as 1793 a Fellow of Magdalen (H. D. Beste),³ preaching before the University at Oxford, urged the necessity of priestly Absolution, while such doctrines as the Real Presence and

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 9–11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³ On him see the article in the *D.N.B.*, s.v. Best, H. D., and the Register of Magdalen College, Oxford.

the Eucharistic Sacrifice were clearly taught by learned divines.¹ But this party, while small and select, was timid and cautious and dignified. That its teaching had not been in vain, however, was shown by the swift spread of the Oxford Revival in its first five years; and historians have been far too apt to overlook the permanence of the Catholic tradition. A little reflection would have suggested that the fire of the Movement would never have burnt so brightly or so swiftly as it did unless all over England there had been embers which the breath of the Movement kindled into flame.

In 1868 a pamphlet of more than usual interest appeared, *Reminiscences of Forty Years by an Hereditary High Churchman*.² Doubtless in the storms of those days of the ceremonial struggle it was too soon overlooked. The writer gives vivid accounts of his own experience from 1828, the different types of services

¹ See *English Church Life from 1660 to 1833* by J. Wickham Legg, 1914. An excellent account of the more prominent clergy of this school and of their teaching is to be found in Archdeacon Churton's *Memoir of Joshua Watson*, 2 vols., 1861.

² Its anonymous author was a barrister-at-law, Mr. James Hickey Smith (1822-81), a son of the Rev. Jeremiah Smith, D.D., High Master of Manchester Grammar School, and Rector of S. Anne's, Manchester. I owe the identification of the author to his nephew, the Rev. G. W. Sandford, M.A.



HUGH JAMES ROSE.

in the churches, the tradition of fasting Communion (of which he heard from his mother), and much to the same effect.

One name rises like a star out of this clouded time, that of Hugh James Rose. Mr. Rose, a distinguished Cambridge man and a trusted chaplain of Archbishop Howley, held and proclaimed views later associated with the Oxford Movement seven years before that Movement began. In 1826 Mr. Rose preached before the University of Cambridge a course of sermons on the Christian Ministry, in which he reasserted the Catholic teaching of the Church. The sermons went into a second edition in 1831, a proof, as the preacher justly and joyfully claims, that his "old-fashioned" opinions (so he calls them) were popular. In 1832 he founded the *British Magazine* as an organ of Church principles.¹ All this shows that belief in the old truth was by no means extinct: nevertheless, breath was needed to blow up those embers into flame, and that breath the Oxford Movement supplied.

¹ He edited this magazine nominally until his death in December, 1838. From 1839 until its discontinuance in 1849 it was edited by Dr. S. R. Maitland, whose articles in it on "The Middle Ages" and on the "English Reformation" (reprinted as separate volumes in 1844 and 1849 respectively as *The Dark Ages* and *Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England*) mark a new beginning of scientific history in England.

The old High Church school was neither in a majority nor the most conspicuous in 1833. The Evangelicals were far more prominent; they may indeed be said to have saved religion in England at the latter end of the eighteenth century; they had suffered a considerable amount of persecution, but between 1820 and 1830 they had at last become popular, or at least genteel. Three well-known members of the party had become bishops—Henry Ryder was consecrated to Gloucester in 1815; Charles Sumner, after a year as Bishop of Llandaff, was translated to Winchester in 1827; while Daniel Wilson was consecrated to Calcutta in 1832. And the Evangelicals of that day were by no means so unchurch-like as a later generation supposed. Daniel Wilson at Islington in 1824 said Morning Prayer on Wednesdays and Fridays, had Eucharists on the Saints' Days, and early Eucharists on Sundays. Even earlier, John Venn, at Clapham, had introduced Sunday evening services, and a system of district visiting, which were regarded as "amazing novelties."¹ Evangelicalism had come to have its centres in fashionable chapels at Bath, at Cheltenham, and other watering-places. It had been an enormous motive force for good; it had inspired many philanthropic

¹ G. R. Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party* (1908), pp. 146, 147.

schemes. In 1833 it had at length brought about the liberation of the slaves. But it failed, it is the judgment of a great man, "in the education and development of character."¹ Its writing and preaching were becoming more and more meagre, and its greatest preachers at this time were among Dissenters. Dean Church says of the Evangelicals of that day—and he was educated among them: "Even of these good men the monotonous language sounded to all but themselves inconceivably hollow and wearisome; and in the hands of the average teachers of the school the idea of religion was becoming poor and thin and unreal."²

The small band of "Liberals" called "the Noetics" has been noticed above;³ their centre had originally been at Oriel College, Oxford. Whigs in politics, their aims were to relax subscription to creeds and formularies in favour of comprehension. Their leaders were Dr. Arnold and Archbishop Whately, but their influence was even more limited than that of the High Churchmen.

Below or between the various schools there existed a considerable body of clergy who were certainly not Evangelical, and who were equally

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 15.

² Ibid., p. 16.

³ Above, p. 15.

free from the practice and theory of the older High Churchmen—"the two-bottle orthodox," the clergymen of Miss Austen and of the *Pickwick Papers*, who have been indicated above.

Such, then, was roughly the condition of affairs inside the Church when, in the summer of 1833, the Oxford Movement began. At this crisis two remedies were proposed to save the English Church from destruction. The first one was the remedy urged by Dr. Arnold. Thomas Arnold was the great Head Master of Rugby, who entirely reformed that school, and whose changes there reformed in time all the English Public Schools. Arnold was a man of great devotion and great ability. He had been at Oxford, and had won there the highest distinction of the time—a Fellowship at Oriel. Dr. Arnold was profoundly disturbed at the state of religion in England,¹ and at this moment he came forward with his plan to save the Church by uniting it with all forms of Dissent, and so once and for all destroying its link with historical Christianity, but making it in a very real sense national, for it would thus include all the nation except Jews and infidels. The same remedy is still before us, and is known as Undenominationalism. The other plan diametrically opposed to it

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 6.

was the plan of the men of the Oxford Movement. This was to put before men the old idea of the Catholic Church, with its divine origin and its ministry reaching back through the Apostles to the LORD, and to make men see in it no mere State Establishment, but a visible Society founded by the LORD Himself, with tremendous powers and supernatural claims. With this idea the Movement began to preach once more the almost forgotten doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church, with all that it implied.

On July 14, 1833, Mr. Keble preached his Assize sermon. The sermon made no vast stir at the time. One of the two judges before whom it was preached is said to have remarked that "it was an appropriate discourse." "Some barristers on the Tory side thought it too strong, especially as one of the judges, Gurney,¹ either was or had been a Dissenter." Dr. Pusey was said to consider "some passages rather too pointed." But an observer of rare powers marked it with wonderful acuteness. "I cannot help thinking it," wrote J. B. Mozley, "a kind of exordium of a great revolution—shall I call it?—coming on, whether rapidly or slowly we cannot tell,

¹ Sir John Gurney, 1768–1845, Baron of the Exchequer, 1832–45, a good criminal lawyer, and a severe and harsh judge.

but at any rate most surely.”¹ And events proved Mozley’s judgement to be right. Ten days later, on July 25th, four men met at Hadleigh, in Suffolk (from July 25th to 29th), to lay down the outlines of a practical scheme.² The names of the members of that Conference, which was to be fraught with such tremendous issues, ought to be had in remembrance. They were the Rev. Hugh James Rose, Rector of Hadleigh, a distinguished Cambridge man already mentioned ; the Rev. William Palmer, a Dublin graduate, who had settled in Oxford ; the Rev. the Hon. Arthur Philip Perceval, Rector of East Horsley, Surrey, and a Royal Chaplain, an Oriel man who had been a Fellow of All Souls ; and only one of the actual Oxford leaders, viz., the Rev. Richard Hurrell Froude, Fellow of Oriel.³

Thus all the old Universities were in fact represented—Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin. Mr. Rose has been already mentioned. He had

¹ Introduction to *Essays Historical and Theological*, by J. B. Mozley, D.D. (2nd ed., 1884), i. 22, 23.

² Perceval, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

³ Church, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 104-7. The actual room in which they met is known. It is the library, with an oratory adjoining, in the beautiful gateway tower of the deanery (or rectory ; the Rectors of Hadleigh were co-Deans of Bocking), a building erected by Archdeacon Pykenham in 1495.

held various appointments in rapid succession; later in this year, 1833, he became Divinity Professor at the new University of Durham; three years later he became Principal of King's College, London. He was a really considerable theologian, learned and accomplished. His extremely delicate health hindered his usefulness, and he died of phthisis at Florence in 1838, at the age of 43.

Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Palmer, the second of the four, is described by Dr. Newman in his *Apologia* as "the only really learned man among us. He understood theology as a science." Mr. Palmer had already made his name by his *Origines Liturgicae* (published in 1832), and he was almost the only living Anglican divine treated seriously by the Roman schools, as Newman found when he went to study in Rome in 1846. Mr. Palmer, moreover, had close relations with the dignified clergy, "Archdeacons, London rectors, and the like . . . commonly called the High and Dry school." Learned and dignified as he was, it is interesting to note that Mr. Palmer is ranked by Dr. Newman (in an Appendix to the French edition of the *Apologia*) with the Anglo-Catholics (i.e. Mr. Keble and Dr. Pusey), and not with the "Established Church party," among whom he places Mr. Rose. Mr. Palmer is often confused (even

by Mr. Wilfrid Ward)¹ with his namesake, William Palmer, Fellow of Magdalen, a brother of the first Lord Selborne, and an ardent worker for reunion with the East.

The third member of the Conference was comparatively unimportant—Mr. Arthur Perceval. Son of a peer, he had been a pupil of Mr. Keble at Oriel, and after taking his degree became Fellow of All Souls. He was an eager and scholarly High Churchman and had what none of the others possessed, a connection with the Court. He was chaplain to George IV, and William IV, and later to Queen Victoria.² Mr. Perceval wrote a little treatise on the Apostolical Succession among many other works (1839, 2nd ed. 1841), which is still of real value. Though, until his death in 1853, Mr. Perceval remained steadfast to his principles, and was a somewhat voluminous author, he was never a specially prominent man. Dr. Newman reckons him with Mr. Rose as a High Churchman of “the Establishment” type.

¹ *The Oxford Movement*, p. 20.

² Queen Victoria deprived Mr. Perceval of his Royal Chaplaincy in October, 1850, for his opposition to the Gorham Judgement. The *D.N.B.*, which is singularly careless where Tractarians are concerned, states inaccurately that Mr. Perceval continued chaplain to Queen Victoria till his death. Vol. xv, p. 813.



HADLEIGH DEANERY:
Interior of the Room in the Gateway Tower in which the Conference was held.
Page 31.

The fourth and most famous of the Hadleigh men was Richard Hurrell Froude.¹

The idea of this Conference was the foundation of an Association of Friends of

¹ A strange instance of a lapse of memory is to be found in the *Letters and Memorials of Archbishop R. C. Trench*, 2 vols., 1888. The future archbishop was assistant curate to H. J. Rose at Hadleigh in 1833, and was himself present at the Conference, "but I was a young curate, and only *listened*," he said. "He said that he remembered taking a walk with Mr. Newman" (*Letters and Memorials*, i. 143). But Mr. Newman was *not* present at Hadleigh; only Mr. Froude and Mr. Palmer were there from Oxford (see Perceval, *A Collection of Papers, etc.*, 1842, p. 11; W. Palmer's *Narrative*, 1843, p. 6; and Newman's *Letters and Correspondence*, i. 437, for a letter from Froude at Hadleigh, giving Newman an account of what had been done). Mr. Newman in his own account of the Movement, *op. cit.*, i. 431, says of the Hadleigh Conference: "Mr. Keble was to have been there, but there is evidence that he was not. Mr. Newman was not there."

Archbishop Trench's memory seems to have been curiously untrustworthy with regard to details of the Oxford Movement. He gives a widely inaccurate account of W. G. Ward. "The first thing he (Ward) did when he went over was to marry. It made the Roman Catholics very angry, as they wanted him to be a Roman Catholic priest," etc. (*Letters and Memorials*, ii. 26). But in fact Mr. Ward married as an English clergyman on March 31, 1845, and it was his wife's resolution to be received into the Roman communion which led to their joint reception six months later, in September, 1845 (*W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, pp. 351, 356, and 365).

the Church, much like the English Church Union or the Church Defence Institution of our own day. This came to nothing.¹ All that emerged was that an Address to the archbishop was finally decided upon, which was ultimately signed by some 7,000 clergymen; and a Lay Address followed from 230,000 heads of families. But these occurred in the next year, 1834. The meeting at Hadleigh and the Addresses were important in another way. They showed timid Churchmen that a rally was to be made, and they began an agitation in favour of the Church which caused its enemies to pause, and in the end to turn their attention to other things.

But Oxford was to be the scene of the conflict, and the condition of things there needs a word of explanation. The University then consisted of some twenty-eight colleges and halls. Each college was governed by a Head and a body of Fellows. The Fellows were mostly in Orders; they enjoyed rooms in college for life, and an annual income, provided that they did not marry. Some few of these Fellows were engaged in teaching the

¹ "There appears to have been some division of opinion at the meeting, but two points were agreed on—to fight for the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession and for the integrity of the Prayer Book."—Newman, *Letters and Correspondence*, i. 432.

undergraduates, who were then very much fewer than they are to-day. Oxford at this time was looked upon as the stronghold of the Church and Tory party. But it for the most part reflected the state of things in the Church at the time : it was asleep.

The best minds in the University were "revolted by the scandalous inertness and self-indulgence of the place, with its magnificent resources squandered and wasted, its stupid orthodoxy of routine, its insensibility to the questions and dangers rising all round."¹ But the dawn of better things had begun. One college in the University had since the year 1800 thrown open its fellowships for competition by examination, and this college, Oriel, soon gathered within its walls the most brilliant men in the place.² And it is with this brilliant group of thinkers that this story is concerned. The most brilliant Fellow of Oriel was Mr. John Keble. He had come up to Oxford as a boy of fifteen, he had taken a double First Class, and won both the English and the Latin Essays when he was only eighteen. He finally won an Oriel Fellow-

¹ Church, *Occasional Papers*, ii. 344.

² An excellent account of Oxford Fellowships and of the reasons which led to the importance at this time of those at Oriel is in Dr. Rashdall's *History of Universities*, etc., ii. 493 seq.

ship in the year 1811, while he was still almost a boy. This brilliant young man was remarkable in another respect, for he was by birth and training a High Churchman. He had learnt from his father, a Gloucestershire clergyman, the old Catholic doctrines of the Real Presence, the power of the keys, the Apostolical Succession, and belief in the visible Church. He was also a reserved, shy poet, happiest when working as a curate in little parishes in the Cotswolds.¹ Mr. Keble's appearance was striking. A contemporary, who had no great love for him, speaks of him as having "one of the most beautifully formed heads in the world, and most wonderful black eyes,"² but over and above his cleverness and his good looks was his absolutely unaffected meekness. Few great men have ever been so humble as he.

Next to Mr. Keble among the Fellows of Oriel comes the greatest of them all—John Henry Newman. He was by birth a Londoner, his father was a banker, and he was born at his father's bank in Broad Street in 1801; Broad Street Station now stands on the site of the house. In 1817 he went up

¹ Mr. Keble had published anonymously in 1827 a little collection of poems which is known wherever the English language is spoken, *The Christian Year*.

² T. Mozley, *Reminiscences*, ed. 1882, ii. 58.

to Trinity College, Oxford, a devout Evangelical. He overworked himself, and broke down in his final examination, so that he failed to get a First Class in 1820, but he made up for his failure by winning the greater honour of a Fellowship at Oriel in 1822.

In the next year, 1823, was elected Fellow of Oriel Mr. Edward Bouverie Pusey, a distinguished young man from Eton and Christ Church, whose father was a Berkshire squire, and whose grandfather was the first Viscount Folkestone. Mr. Pusey's religious training had been like that of Mr. Keble. He had learnt as a child at the knees of his mother, Lady Lucy Pusey, to believe in the Real Presence.

There was another among the Fellows of Oriel who demands mention with Keble, Newman, and Pusey—Richard Hurrell Froude. He was the son of the Archdeacon of Totnes, and came up to Oriel from Eton in 1821. He gained a double Second Class (i.e. in classics and in mathematics) in 1824, a Fellowship at his college in 1826, and was made a tutor, while still a layman, in 1827. At Oriel he had been a pupil of Keble. In 1831 his lungs became affected, and he died (when only thirty-two) in 1836. Yet, above most men, Froude in a short time fulfilled

a long time. To most observers he would probably have been the most attractive of all the Oriel men. He was extremely handsome. "That bright and beautiful Froude," one of his friends calls him, just before his death; and another speaks of "the enthusiasm which shone from his eagle eye." He was not in the least like the popular idea of a "don," for he loved to sail his own boat, and enjoyed the danger of rough weather. He was a bold rider across country, he knew a great deal about Gothic architecture when such knowledge was rare in England. But more than this, he was utterly impatient of all sham and humbug. A brilliant conversationalist, he always went directly to the point, and spoke just as strongly as he felt. He was, moreover, a poet, a true scholar, and a fastidious, high-tempered English gentleman. Most of all, Richard Hurrell Froude was a Christian of the fibre of which saints are made. He had a great feeling for celibacy. His self-discipline was merciless, and, probably, hastened his early death, for he, too, had learnt to be a Churchman of Mr. Keble's school, reverencing the High Churchmen of Archbishop Laud's day. The state of the English Church as Froude knew it filled him with dismay. He was determined to do something to end it. And he did.

Common room April July 12 1832
 (From a sketch by Miss Maria Giberne.)

Yours ever affectionately

R. H. Froude



H. Froude

J. Mozley

J. H. Newman

RICHARD HURRELL FROUDE, THOMAS MOZLEY,
 JOHN HENRY NEWMAN IN 1832.

For he brought Mr. Newman to understand Mr. Keble.

Such, then, were some of the Oriel Fellows—picked men of a picked college. To begin with, their views were by no means alike. Mr. Newman was a strong Evangelical when in 1824 he was ordained deacon and became curate of S. Clement's, then as now in Evangelical hands. So at this time he was rather shy of Pusey, whom he patronized a little at first, and even after he had known him a year he writes in his journal his admiration for Pusey's devotional life, but adds, "Yet I fear he is prejudiced against Thy children,"¹ for Pusey was not an Evangelical.

A few years later (1827) Newman and Froude (with R. I. Wilberforce) became tutors of their college—that is to say, the teaching of the undergraduates was put into their hands, and they came to know each other. But Froude was shy of Newman, whom he thought to be a Liberal in religion; and he wrote in the next year (1828) to Keble (whom he owned as his great master), "Newman is a fellow I like more the more I see of him, only I would give a few odd pence if he were not a heretic."

Through Froude most of all Newman learnt to be a High Churchman. He had learnt some

¹ Newman, *Letters and Correspondence*, i. 116, 117.

years before (1823), while walking round Christ Church Meadow with an older Fellow of Oriel (the Rev. W. James),¹ the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession, and later from another Oxford teacher (Dr., afterwards Archbishop, Whately) to think of the Church as a divine society. But Froude taught Newman all that he himself had learned from Keble, and so the three men came together in 1829. With death in view, Froude said at the end of his brief life, "You know the story of the murderer who had done one good deed in his life. Well, if I was ever asked what good deed I had done, I should say I had brought Keble and Newman to understand each other."

In 1832 Newman and Froude went to the

¹ Mr. James lived until 1861. He was Fellow of Oriel, 1809-37; Vicar of Cobham, Surrey, 1823-53; and then became Rector of Bilton, near Rugby, where he built the present rectory; married the widow of his predecessor, and finally died. He is still (1915) remembered at Bilton. He was at Oriel unable to preserve discipline at his lectures. In 1884 James Howard Harris, third Earl of Malmesbury (1807-87), published his *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister* in which he stated that Newman as tutor of Oriel was the butt of undergraduate jokes. Lord Blachford wrote an indignant and most interesting correction of the statement in the *Daily News* of October 9, 1884. The tutor whom Lord Malmesbury had confused with Newman was, according to Lord Blachford, Mr. William James, already immortalized in the *Apologia*.

Mediterranean to try to patch up Froude's health. On that journey Newman became convinced that he had a work to do in England. He became impatient to be back, and his verses, written when becalmed in an orange-boat off Sicily — "Lead, kindly Light" — show the spirit that was in him. He and Froude, with Keble and others, had already begun a book of poems which was to rouse the slumbering Church, and they had taken for its motto a line from Homer: "You shall know the difference now that we are back again."¹ They were back in July, 1833 (Newman arrived on the 9th), and on the following Sunday Mr. Keble preached his memorable Assize sermon.

¹ So Newman freely translated it. The words were: Γνωίεν δ', ὡς δὴ δῆρον ἐγὼ πολέμοιο πέπαυμαι, literally "And let them know that I too long have held aloof from war." (Homer, *Iliad*, xviii, l. 125.) These verses were published month by month in the *British Magazine*, founded by H. J. Rose in that year. They were collected into a volume as *Lyra Apostolica* in 1836. A critical edition (with an Introduction by Dr. H. S. Holland) is published in "The Library of Devotion" (Methuen & Co.).

CHAPTER II

THE HOUR OF SUCCESS

THE Oxford Movement began with Mr. Keble's sermon on July 14, 1833. It was followed by a meeting at Hadleigh Deanery, at which Mr. Froude was present. But the methods of the men at the Hadleigh Conference were what might be called very slow and respectable. Those men were, with the exception of R. H. Froude, somewhat dignified clergymen,¹ who wanted to go carefully and to carry the dignitaries along with them. That was not the method likely to suit the burning enthusiasm of the Oriel men. Mr. Froude said to a younger friend (Isaac Williams) at this very time: "Isaac, we must make a row in the world. . . . Church principles forced on people's notice must do people good. We must try."² And so in September 9, 1833, the "row in the world"

¹ e.g., H. J. Rose was a Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Hon. A. P. Perceval was a Royal Chaplain, while W. Palmer had made his name as a scholar by his *Origines Liturgicae* in 1832.

² I. Williams, *Autobiography*, 3rd ed. (1893) p. 63.

began with the issue of the first of what were called the *Tracts for the Times*, Mr. Newman leading off with the first entitled "Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission, respectfully addressed to the Clergy." Not the least surprising thing about the Oxford Movement is the form in which it was begun, and from which it gained one of its names. The Oxford Tracts soon became famous enough, and "Tractarian" was the name given to those who believed in their teaching; but, of all the forms in which it would have been guessed that a modern nineteenth-century religious movement was to take its rise, tracts would have been thought to be the most unlikely. For the title "Tract" has to-day, and certainly had then, discouraging associations. "The pertinacity of good ladies who pressed them on chance strangers . . . had lowered the general respect for them."¹ They were the especial and chosen weapon of well-meaning people of the Evangelical school. And yet the fact remains that the Oxford Movement became known and gave its message largely through the *Tracts for the Times*. The wonder ceases when a reader troubles to look at some of these surprising little pamphlets. The first tract is a four-page leaflet, little bigger than a sheet of writing paper, published

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 110.

at 1*d.*; but it is written in clear, nervous English in its most perfect form, and it arrests attention at once. Certainly no other tract in all religious literature was ever like this one. This is how it begins: "I am but one of yourselves—a Presbyter; and therefore I conceal my name, lest I should take too much on myself by speaking in my own person. Yet speak I must; for the times are very evil, yet no one speaks against them." He goes on to speak of the dangers threatening the Church, and the need of rallying to the rescue of the "successors of the Apostles," the bishops, for whom he says, with real sincerity but with something like real humour too, "We could not wish them a more blessed termination of their course than the spoiling of their goods and martyrdom." Imagination boggles at such an end for the type of bishop described in the last chapter. "Spoiling of their goods and martyrdom"! The first three Tracts bear the same date, and others followed rapidly during the last three months of 1833. They dealt with various subjects, the great questions which had sprung into prominence. And, as Dean Church says, "the ring of these early tracts was something very different from anything of the kind yet known in England. They were clear, brief, stern appeals to conscience and reason. They

were," he adds, "like the short, sharp, rapid utterances of men in pain and danger and pressing emergency."¹ These, then, were the first public utterances of the Movement as a whole, and they rang out like pistol shots. For the writers were no mere tellers of what would be called "goody-goody" stories, but some of the finest intellects in England. Mr. Newman, as he says, began the Tracts "out of his own head."² He wrote the first two, but Keble and Froude joined, as did a layman, a dear friend of Mr. Newman's from undergraduate days, Mr. John Bowden. The safe and sound so-called sensible people were at first alarmed—men like the learned Mr. William Palmer, who had been at Hadleigh, and Mr. Perceval, the third member of that conference. But Mr. Newman went on, and before the series ended both Mr. Palmer and Mr. Perceval had written Tracts in it. But at first these more dignified persons were alarmed. Side by side with the Tracts were published short translations from some of the early Fathers, the work of young scholars who were catching the flame. These, printed like the Tracts, were called *Records of the Church*, and like the Tracts, cost 1d. There is a characteristic story of Mr. Froude at

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 110, 111.

² *Apologia*, p. 109.

this time. Mr. Palmer was insisting on the need of the support of dignitaries. Froude stretched out his long length on Newman's sofa, and broke in upon one of Palmer's judicious harangues about bishops and archbishops and such like with, "I don't see why we should disguise from ourselves that our object is to dictate to the clergy of this country, and I for one do not want any one else to get on the box."¹

A real campaign began. Mr. Newman, in 1833, in the Long Vacation, rode round to country vicarages carrying parcels of the Tracts and begging the clergy to read them.² His friends did the same.³ They reached even to bishops in their palaces. One prelate, after reading the Tract on the Apostolical Succession, could not make up his mind whether he held the doctrine or not.⁴ But in the modern phrase the Tracts "caught on," they created a stir, and at first even the Evangelicals seemed to approve. Mr. Newman, who as an Evangelical had helped to found the *Record* newspaper in 1828, began a series of letters to that journal advocating the Oxford views under the head of Church Reform. Five letters appeared,

¹ Lord Blachford, in Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 62.

² *Apologia*, p. 110.

³ Mozley, *Reminiscences*, i. 329 seq.

⁴ *Apologia*, p. 114.

but the sixth was refused by the Editor on the ground that it attacked Temperance Societies. He added, however, that he seriously regretted the character of the Tracts.¹ This was the first and very faint whisper of the storm, which, as yet, was far away. So far all was well. The Tractarians, as they were called, were popular. Recruits poured in. Clever barristers in London, rising statesmen like Mr. Gladstone, were soon to fling in their lot with the Movement. In 1834 a fresh stage was reached when Dr. Pusey formally joined it by publishing a Tract, No. 18, on Fasting, with his initials attached to it² (the previous Tracts had been anonymous). The adherence of Dr. Pusey gave the Movement a new basis ; indeed, it altered it in two ways. Hitherto the men of the Movement were chiefly thought of, and naturally, as being a band of brilliant but young (and therefore more or less irresponsible) Oxford dons, but the accession of Dr. Pusey, though indeed he was of much the same age,³ changed all that. For, to quote

¹ *Apologia*, pp. 111, 112.

² Isaac Williams says that Dr. Pusey initialled the Tract to avoid being mixed up with the party or being "in any way responsible for the Tracts." *Autobiography*, pp. 71, 72.

³ Mr. Newman was born February 21, 1801 ; Hurrell Froude on March 25, 1803 ; Dr. Pusey on August 22, 1800 ; Mr. Keble was older, having been born on April 25, 1792.

Mr. Newman, "Dr. Pusey gave to us a position and a name. . . . He was a Professor and a Canon of Christ Church; he had a vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his professorship, his family connections, and his easy relations with the University authorities." So, he adds, "Dr. Pusey was a host in himself; he was able to give a name, a form, and a personality to what was without him a sort of mob."¹ That was the effect of his adherence to the Movement on the world outside. And it is not to be wondered at. Dr. Pusey had been elected a Fellow of Oriel a year after Mr. Newman, in 1823. Two years later he made acquaintance at first hand with the Universities of Germany, and plunged deep into the new critical studies of the Bible that were then just beginning. How he toiled at Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic is written in his life; he worked sometimes sixteen hours a day. He became, in a few years, the most learned Orientalist in England, and almost the only English scholar whose name was known in the Universities of Europe. In 1827 Mr. Pusey engaged in a controversy with Mr. H. J. Rose as to the theology of Germany, which Mr. Rose had attacked. Pusey, more sanguine about the future, indignantly replied to the

¹ *Apologia*, pp. 136, 137.





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forebodings of Mr. Rose. The controversy was long, and in after years Pusey thought his conclusions mistaken, and in his will left directions that his works on the subject should not be re-published. Meanwhile, in 1828, while only a deacon and just twenty-eight, he was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, a post which carried with it a canonry of Christ Church. This position he held for fifty-four years. He became at once a member of the charmed circle in which the Heads of Houses and great dignitaries at Oxford moved, and so his adhesion to the Movement was an event of supreme importance in the early days of 1834. But the external effect of Dr. Pusey's adherence was almost nothing to its internal importance on the direction of the Movement itself. Dr. Pusey, as he had become, was a scholar of enormous learning. He was also, to quote Mr. Newman, "a man of large designs."¹ "He had passed an apprenticeship among the divines of Germany. . . . He knew the meaning of real learning."² So "his influence was felt at once. It was through him that the whole character of the Tracts was changed. They became longer, more weighty, and elaborate."³ For instance, in 1835 Dr. Pusey published in three Tracts

¹ *Apologia*, p. 137. ² Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 135.

³ *Apologia*, p. 138.

(67, 68, 69) a treatise on Baptism, which is, according to Dean Church, "perhaps the most elaborate that has yet appeared in the English language. . . . It was like the advance of a battery of heavy artillery on a field where the battle has been hitherto carried on by skirmishing and musketry. It altered the look of things and the condition of the fighting." So after this treatise "the earlier form of the Tracts appeared no more."¹ It is a strange fact that from Dr. Pusey's accession to it the Movement in the popular mind became associated with his name. This was partly from "its smoothness of sound, partly from an odd suggestion of something funny in it." So for forty years the word "Puseyite" became in many mouths a bitter term of contempt, and the words "Puseismus," "Puséisme," and "Puseista," found their way into German lecture halls and Paris saloons and remote police offices in Italy and Sicily. I saw it myself in a Danish dictionary some five years ago (where it was strangely confused with "Puss" and "Pussy-cat"), and indeed in the shape of *πουζεισμός* it might be found in a Greek newspaper.²

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 136.

² Ibid., p. 183. Lady Frederick Cavendish describes an interview with Pope Pius IX in 1867, in which the pope said to her "M. Gladstone est Pousséiste n'est

By 1835 the Movement had become a power not merely in Oxford but in the world outside, and this was due partly to the Tracts, partly to the accession of Dr. Pusey. But there was at work another force—greater, perhaps, than either of these. It was the spiritual force of Mr. Newman's sermons. In 1828 Mr. Hawkins had been succeeded as Vicar of S. Mary's, the University Church, by Mr. Newman, and from the pulpit of S. Mary's flowed this stream as powerful and as compelling as the words of the Tracts. Very different men have described those sermons; a Presbyterian, the late Principal Shairp, of S. Andrew's; a man of the world who disliked the Movement, Sir Francis Doyle; theological Liberals, like Mr. Matthew Arnold and Mr. J. A. Froude. I take two witnesses who were by conviction on the opposite side to that taken by Mr. Newman and his friends.

“About the service” (at S. Mary's), writes Principal Shairp, “the most remarkable thing was the beauty, the silver intonation of Mr. Newman's voice as he read the lessons. . . . When he began to preach, a stranger was not likely to be much struck. Here was no vehemence, no declamation . . . one who came to hear ‘a great intellectual effort’ was ce pas ?”—G. W. E. Russell, *Life of Dr. Pusey*, p. 38, note 1.

almost sure to go away disappointed. His power showed itself in the new and unlooked-for way in which he touched into life old truths, which all Christians acknowledge but most have ceased to feel, when he spoke of 'unreal words,' of 'the individuality of the soul,' of 'the invisible world,' and again of 'warfare the condition of victory,' 'the Cross of CHRIST the measure of the world,' or 'the Christian Church a home for the lonely.' He laid his finger how gently yet how powerfully on some inner place in the hearer's heart, and told him things about himself he had never known till then. . . . After hearing these sermons you might come away still not believing the truths peculiar to the High Church system, but you would be harder than most men if you did not feel more than ever ashamed of coarseness, selfishness, worldliness, if you did not feel the things of faith brought closer to the soul."¹

That is the witness of a strong and convinced Presbyterian. The other witness is Matthew Arnold, who never at any period of his career had any sympathy with the objects of the Movement. Yet he writes, "Who could resist the charm of that spiritual apparition, gliding in the dim afternoon light of the aisles of

¹ J. C. Shairp, *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy*, 1868, pp. 275-8.

S. Mary's, rising into the pulpit, and then in the most entrancing of voices breaking the silence with words and thoughts which were a religious music—subtle, sweet, mournful. Happy the man who in that susceptible season of youth hears such voices. They are a possession to him for ever.”¹

“Without the sermons,” Dean Church says, “the Movement . . . would never have been what it was. . . . Plain, direct, unornamented, clothed in English that was only pure and lucid, free from any faults of taste, strong in their flexibility and perfect command both of language and of thought, they were the expression of a piercing and large insight into character and conscience and motives, of a sympathy at once most tender and most stern with the tempted and wavering, of an absolute and burning faith in God and His counsels, in His love . . . in His magnificence. They made men think of the things the preacher spoke of, and not of the sermon or the preacher.”² So “while men were reading and talking about the Tracts they were hearing the sermons,” and “the sermons created a moral atmosphere in which men judged the questions in debate.”

Thus the Movement grew. There was

¹ M. Arnold, *Discourses in America*, p. 139.

² Church, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 129, 130.

little active opposition. Moderate men were inclined to sympathize, not always quite understanding the aims of the new school. Thus one country clergyman¹ wrote solemnly to a local paper to announce that in an early Tract the expression "Sacrifice" of the Holy Eucharist was merely a misprint for "Sacrament."² The bishops too, astonished, as well they might be, at the unexpected rally in their favour, appeared not unfriendly, and some of the lesser dignitaries were warmer in their support.

In 1836 the party of the Movement came into greater notice. One of those struggles arose which periodically convulse Oxford. The Regius Professor of Divinity (Dr. Burton) died, and the Whig Premier, Lord Melbourne, appointed to the vacant post a certain Dr. Hampden, Principal of S. Mary Hall, a very dry and dull divine, who in his Bampton Lectures in 1832 seemed to have thrown doubts on the Creeds and their authority. The Lectures made little stir at the time, and probably no one now alive has ever read them through. It seems, on good authority, that most of their heresy, if such it was, was due to a friend of Dr. Hampden's, a Mr. Blanco White, who later became an avowed Unitarian, but who had helped the preacher to compose them, and that Dr. Hampden himself did not

¹ S. Rickards, of Stowlangtoft. ² *Apologia*, p. 115.

clearly see what he was preaching.¹ However that may have been, the appointment roused a storm of indignation, and the Evangelicals joined with the men of the Movement to try to oppose it. This alliance between the Tractarians and the Evangelicals against what would now be called the Broad Church school is to be remarked, for a few years later it would have been impossible. Indeed, a Protestant paper of the time asserted that in Dr. Hampden's teaching "Protestantism was stabbed to its very vitals."² All that they succeeded in doing was to enact at Oxford a statute which deprived the new Professor of his power over University preachers. The victory, however, showed the strength of the new School, for although the Tractarians had not won it alone, theirs were the most powerful pens wielded in its cause. Henceforward those who had supported Hampden were to be their most determined foes. So their share in this victory in 1836 cost the Tractarians dear. For now for the first time appeared the charge of Romanizing, brought against them by the defeated Latitudinarians. And at the same time the whole Roman controversy itself was looming on the horizon, for an able and gifted prelate, Monsignor, afterwards Archbishop and

¹ T. Mozley, *Reminiscences*, i. 354 seq.

² J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, p. 54.

Cardinal, Wiseman, just returned to England, opened a formal attack on the position claimed for the English Church by the Oxford men, in some Lectures on the Doctrines and Practices of the Roman Catholic Church, delivered in London at S. Mary's, Moorfields (now pulled down), in Lent, 1836.

But Mr. Newman was secure in his position. When he and Hurrell Froude had visited Rome on their tour in 1832, they came back critical and displeased with much of what they saw. And Mr. Newman made his position quite clear in a course of Lectures which he gave in this year (1836) on "Romanism and Popular Protestantism."¹ In these Lectures he distinguished between what was Catholic and what was Roman, and though he condemned the Roman Church he did justice, as few before him had dared to do, to its magnificent virtues. The Lectures themselves were delivered in the Lady Chapel of S. Mary's at Oxford, known as Adam de Brome's Chapel. It is a dark, dreary place² on the north side of the church, looking now, as it did then, more like a court or a place of business than a chapel.³ Here in these years Mr. Newman

¹ They were subsequently republished as the second volume of *The Via Media*.

² See on it Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 212.

³ Ibid., p. 188.

delivered other courses of lectures from which grew volumes which "were some of the most characteristic portions of the theological literature of the early Movement,"¹ and drew many besides adherents of the cause to listen to them. The year 1836 saw another project begun. It was the idea of publishing a carefully edited series of translations of the works of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church before the division of East and West. The editors were Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Newman, and, after 1842, Mr. Marriott. It was dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and many bishops subscribed to it. Brilliant scholars worked at it,² and it has been completed almost within our own day. It showed the power of sound learning which was behind the Oxford views. These years were those of great and increasing prosperity. The Movement was spreading far and wide. It lost, however, in 1836, R. H. Froude, who died at Dartington, his father's house, on February 28th. There was about him, wrote Dean Church, "an awful reality of devoutness,"³

¹ See Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 189 and note, for the various lectures and their dates.

² An Appendix in Liddon's *Life of Dr. Pusey*, i, pp. 445-7, gives a complete list of the volumes published and their translators and editors so far as they are known.

³ Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 38.

yet this was, perhaps, the side of him that outsiders did not realize. One of his brother Fellows at Oriel (T. Mozley) writes as he hears of his death : "I dare say there is no one who has said more severe and cutting things to me, yet the constant impression Froude has left on my mind is that of kindness and sweetness."¹

The publication of the *Remains of the late Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude* raised the first great storm which swept over the Tractarian ship. Mr. Froude's letters and papers were given to Mr. Keble and Mr. Newman to edit. The first two volumes, containing his journal and letters, were published in 1838. Anything more indiscreet, from a party point of view, has probably never been done. To take up and read now those rather scarce volumes is to be amazed at the simplicity of the editors in giving such a book to the world. It is probably the most purely personal and intimate diary of a devout man which has ever been printed—at any rate in English. To describe its publication as indiscreet is far too weak an expression. For Froude talked and wrote in intimate intercourse in the same daring spirit in which he rode across country and sailed his boat. And his friends printed his slashing criticisms of the popular idols just

¹ Newman, *Letters*, etc., ii. 172.

as they printed the innermost communings of his spiritual life, the records of his stern self-discipline, and his deep penitence before God. It was the attacks—contained in intimate personal letters—on the leaders of the English Reformation in the sixteenth century which really roused the storm. What the Protestant feeling of England was in 1838 may perhaps be gathered from Mr. Edmund Gosse's *Father and Son*. The Protestantism Mr. Gosse describes is of the period twenty years later than Froude's *Remains*, but even then Roman Catholics were regarded as far worse, from a religious view, than the most degraded heathen, while the Reformers of Edward VI's and Elizabeth's reigns were regarded as only a "little lower than the angels." Nine hundred and ninety-nine Englishmen in every thousand were brought up to this view. Now the Oxford Movement had meant real learning, and therefore real criticism; and the leaders and followers alike had found out—what all know to-day—that (to quote Dean Church) "the Reformers had been accomplices in many indefensible acts, and had been inconsistent and untrustworthy theologians."¹ But few people knew or believed it then; and horror seized the astounded British public when they read in the published letters of an English clergyman,

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 220.

the Fellow and Tutor of an Oxford college, such sentences as these—"I am becoming less and less a loyal son of the Reformation";¹ or again, "Really, I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more."² "Why do you praise Ridley? Do you know sufficient good about him to counterbalance the fact that he was the associate of Cranmer, Peter Martyr, and Bucer?"³ Or, perhaps most strongly of all, "The Reformation was a limb badly set; it must be broken again to be righted."⁴

From that day down to the day of a *Secret History* of the Movement, Froude's *Remains* have been the quarry to which every Protestant controversialist has gone for stones to throw at the Oxford Movement. And there is no wonder—for Froude, in his satirical way, called the meeting at Hadleigh "the conspiracy." When he described his visit to Rome with Newman in 1833, before the Movement began, he writes that he and his companion had had an introduction to a Roman Monsignor. "We got introduced to him," he says, "to find out whether they would take us in on any terms to which we could twist our consciences, and we found to our dismay that

¹ *Remains of the late Rev. Richard Hurrell Froude, M.A.* (London, 1838), i. 336.

² *Ibid.*, p. 389.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 393, 394.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 433, 434.

not one step could be gained without swallowing the Council of Trent as a whole." All this, of course, was written in a jesting way, as any one who will read the whole letter can see ; but to the suspicious British public, still full of old terrors of concealed Jesuits and popish plots, the passages quoted came like a thunder-clap. In vain the editors in their Preface drew attention to Froude's serious and clear denunciations of Rome, and his strong and convinced Anglicanism.¹ The Protestantism of the public was well alight, fanned by the foes of the Movement, and it was never allowed to die down. The publication of these letters and papers at least shows this—that the leaders of the Movement were no cunning conspirators, as their enemies alleged. It was the act of men who showed "their hands and took the consequences : it was the act of men confident in their own straightforwardness."² They wanted to show Froude as he really was, and they expected the public to make allowance for his exaggerated language and his off-hand judgements, and see the pure and beautiful soul within. They were utterly mistaken, and from those days to our own the jests and epigrams of Froude have furnished ammunition to every critic of the

¹ See Preface, *op. cit.*, i, pp. xi-xiii.

² Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 43.

Movement. In Oxford a design was at once set on foot to embarrass the Tractarian leaders. It was at once proposed to erect a memorial to the three reforming bishops who were burnt there—Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. The original design was ambitious — to build a church in their memory. The money subscribed, however, was enough only to add an aisle to the existing S. Mary Magdalene's church, and to erect a stone memorial cross, which is known as the Martyrs' Memorial ; but its real object was not so especially to honour the martyrs as to set up a public protest against the views set forth in Froude's *Remains*. Dr. Pusey was inclined to subscribe to it in order to disarm the suspicion of sympathy with Rome, but Mr. Newman held aloof.¹ The object of the promoters was attained—the memorial was set up, and stands in Oxford to-day, a beautiful and graceful protest, but a protest against the new school, and successful in an unlooked-for way because Mr. Newman and his friends were publicly shown to be no friends to the Reformation as it was then understood.

But so far there was no wavering in Mr. Newman's mind. "In the spring of 1839," he writes, "my position in the Anglican Church was at its height. I had supreme confidence in

¹ *Life of Dr. Pusey*, ii. 65.

my controversial status. I had a great and still growing success in recommending it to others.”¹ The Movement was in its flood-tide. In 1838 it became the owner of a review, the *British Critic*,² with Mr. Newman as editor. The brilliant articles which appeared there forced intellectual men at any rate to reckon with them.

But the growling of the storm began to be heard nearer at hand. Dr. Arnold had attacked the writers of the Tracts in a furious article in the *Edinburgh Review* as early as 1836.³

¹ *Apologia*, p. 180.

² The *British Critic* had been begun in May, 1793, as a monthly magazine, founded by a “Society for the Reformation of Principles by Appropriate Literature,” which had been set on foot by W. Jones of Nayland (though Jones neither edited nor contributed to the magazine). A new series began in January, 1814, which continued until June, 1825. In October, 1825, it reappeared as a Quarterly Review, and remained a quarterly until its last number, October, 1843. In 1836 Mr. Newman had become partly responsible for the magazine; from March, 1838, he was sole editor until he resigned in July, 1841, when he was succeeded by T. Mozley. J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, pp. 70, 71. T. Mozley, *Reminiscences*, i. 414, 415; ii. 200, 206-9, 215-31, 235-43, 304-10, 385-97.

³ See the *Edinburgh Review*, No. cxxvii, April, 1836, on “Dr. Hampden and the Oxford Malignants.” The violence of its language is remarkable. “The objects of High Church fanaticism, objects so pitiful that, if gained ever so completely, they would make no man the wiser or the better; they would lead to no good, intellectual, moral,

The Evangelicals were enraged by the supposed Romanism of their teaching, and those who were known as "the two-bottle orthodox" (from their addiction to Port wine) were offended by the Tractarian asceticism. But so far there was no wavering. The Movement had spread to London, for in this year 1839 the old Margaret Chapel, the predecessor of the present All Saints', Margaret Street, became a Tractarian centre under Mr. Frederick Oakeley, Fellow of Balliol and Prebendary of Lichfield,¹ as its incumbent. It was the first church in London where a real attempt was made to raise the standard of the Church's services and to preach the almost forgotten truth of the whole of the Church's faith. So far all was well; but in the Long Vacation of 1839 came the first serious sign. As yet it was a cloud no bigger than a man's hand. From the middle of June to the end of August² Mr. Newman was studying the history of the Monophysite heresy. During this course of reading a doubt as to the tenableness of Anglicanism flashed across his mind. It grew, and by the end of August

or spiritual; to no effect, social or religious, except to the changing of sense into silliness, and holiness . . . into formality and hypocrisy."

¹ He held the stall of Dasset Parva, 1832-45.

² *Apologia*, p. 208.

he was "seriously alarmed."¹ That alarm was, it seems, beginning to die down when there came into his hands the current number of the *Dublin Review*, which contained an article by Cardinal Wiseman on the Anglican claim. Mr. Newman read it and saw little in it. It compared the Anglicans to the Donatist heretics in Africa in the fifth century. The article, however, gave him, he says, "a stomach-ache."² A friend, whose story has never been fully told (he is anonymous in the *Apologia*),³ called his attention to the words "which had escaped his attention," the words

¹ *Apologia*, p. 211. ² Newman, *Letters*, etc., ii. 287.

³ This anonymous friend was Robert Williams, M.P. for Dorchester, 1835-41, and a member of Oriel College. He was one of the earliest of the "extreme" men, and was one of those engaged in translating and printing the *Sarum Breviary*. He was a source of much anxiety to Newman and to Pusey as he was at one time on the point of becoming a Roman Catholic (Liddon's *Life of Dr. Pusey*, ii. 152-4). He completely changed his opinions, however, became an Evangelical, and entirely abjured the party of the Movement. So completely has his share been forgotten that even Mr. Wilfrid Ward in his great *Life of Cardinal Newman* (1st ed., 1912), i. 67, 68, misinterprets the initials "R. W." (Robert Williams) as "Robert Wilberforce," and wrongly ascribes to Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce what was really the doing of Robert Williams. In the *Apologia* (1st ed., 1864) he is described as "my friend, an anxiously religious man, now, as then, very dear to me, a Protestant still," p. 211. Mr. Williams was a partner

in which S. Augustine summed up against the schismatics, *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*, "the whole world judges right"—i.e., the universal sense of the whole Church must be right against one local body. The words, he says, struck him with a power he had never felt from any words before. But he grew calm. He had seen, he says, "the shadow of a hand upon the wall," "the heavens had opened and closed again." His old convictions remained as before.¹

He still believed that the English Church was the Church of Augustine and Bede and of Anselm and Becket, and he set to work to prove that it still held the Catholic Faith. His work was to issue in the famous Tract No. 90. But while Mr. Newman was thus engaged another force was at work, another school had arisen, very different in origin and in aim from that of the original leaders. But before mention is made of this new school a few more of the men who were in the main body of the Movement demand some notice.

First of all comes Robert Isaac Wilberforce,

in the banking firm of Williams, Deacon & Co., was born in 1811, and died in June, 1890. He gained a fourth class in Mathematics and Classics in 1832, and graduated B.A. in 1833, and M.A. in 1836.

¹ *Apologia*, p. 213.



CHARLES MARRIOTT.

at this period Archdeacon of the East Riding and Rector of Burton Agnes, the second son of William Wilberforce, the Liberator of the Slaves. He had been Fellow of Oriel and was a man of commanding ability, a really great philosopher, a profound theologian, and of a most severe and saintly life. The late Bishop of Southampton (Dr. A. T. Lyttelton) described him as "the greatest philosophical theologian of the Tractarians."¹ Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce's books on the doctrines of the Incarnation, of Holy Baptism, and of the Holy Eucharist are as classical now as in their first days. Archdeacon Wilberforce became in time the great friend of Archdeacon Manning; like him he remained firm in the great crisis in 1845, but like him he left the English Church in 1854, as a result of the Gorham Judgement in 1851. He died in Italy in 1855.

Certainly not less in importance was Charles Marriott, who, like Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce, had won an Oriel Fellowship in 1833. He too was a man of great intellectual gifts, and he was a ripe scholar. He might have been a philosopher, and he

¹ In *The Pilot* of March 23, 1901 [vol. iii, p. 362], in the first of two most valuable papers on "Tractarianism and the Bible."

had poetry in his veins.¹ But he flung himself heart and soul into the Movement, and placed all his great powers unreservedly at its service. Year by year he toiled away, labouring at the great "Library of the Fathers"² to which reference has been made above. A handsome man, with brilliant gifts, Charles Marriott set aside all chance of worldly success, hope of wife and children, prospect of ease and leisure, for the sake of the great cause. Caring nothing for his own name or fame, for he did not write works of genius to spread his name over the land, yet "no one did more to persuade those around him of the solid underground religious reality of the Movement."³ His story belongs to the second period of the Movement, for he was one of the great men who stood firm when the crisis came.

With Charles Marriott comes yet another of the distinguished Fellows of Oriel, Frederic (later Sir Frederic) Rogers, afterwards Lord Blachford, one of an old Devonshire family; his father was the seventh baronet. After a distinguished career at Eton, Frederic Rogers

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 90, 91; quoting T. Mozley, *Reminiscences*, i. 447.

² Above, p. 55.

³ See especially *Oxford Movement*, p. 88, what Dean Church says of Charles Marriott's "immovable hope, his confidence that all things would come right."

came up to Oriel in 1827, and became the pupil of R. H. Froude. In 1832 he gained Firsts in Classics and in Mathematics, and was elected Fellow with Marriott in 1833. (Newman was abroad with Froude at the time.) Mr. Rogers soon became the devoted and most intimate friend of Newman, and one of the brilliant laymen who flung themselves into the Movement. As to his friendship with Newman, Dean Church says: "No one was a closer friend than Rogers; there was no one in whom Mr. Newman had such trust; no one in whose companionship he so delighted." As Mr. Newman's doubts about Anglicanism increased, a separation inevitably occurred between the master and the disciple,¹ and, finding life in Oxford too painful, Rogers withdrew to London in 1842, but he remained Fellow of Oriel till 1845, and by a most singular and undesigned coincidence resigned his fellowship on the same day as Mr. Newman.² Sir F. Rogers had never at any time any intention of being ordained: he became a distinguished civil servant as Permanent Under Secretary for the Colonies, and in 1871 he was created a Peer. "From Mr. Newman" he had "caught that earnest devotion to the cause of the Church which was supreme with him through life."

¹ cf. Isaac Williams, *Autobiography*, pp. 122, 123.

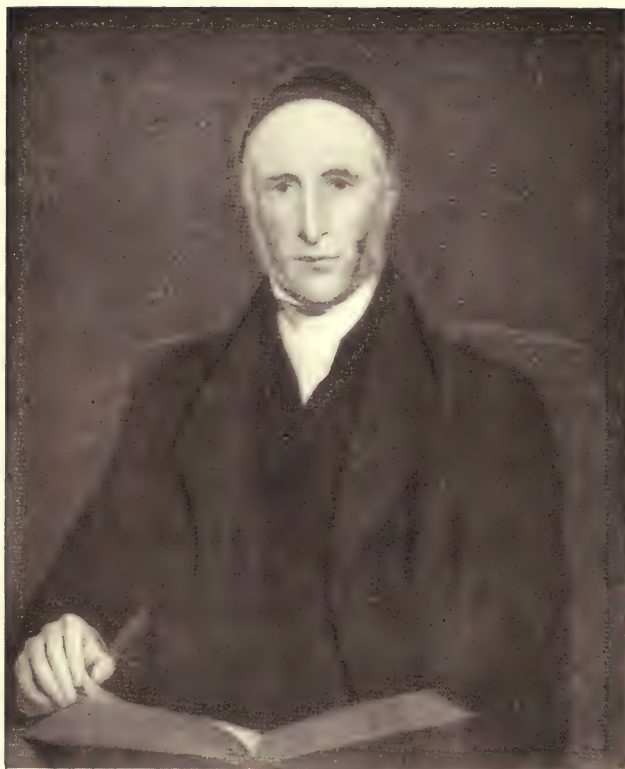
² *Letters of Lord Blachford*, pp. 117, 118.

So in January, 1846, when the Movement seemed likely to break up, he was one of the gallant band who founded *The Guardian* newspaper to keep Church principles alive. He survived till November, 1889, and died as he had lived, the devoted friend of Mr. Newman and a firm believer in the English Church.

With the name of Frederic Rogers comes naturally and inevitably the name of Dean Church. No figure in the whole Movement, after that of Mr. Newman, is so beautiful as his. Brought up at first in Italy, where his uncle, Sir Richard Church, held a command in the Kingdom of Naples, Richard William Church, after an Evangelical school training, came up to Wadham College, Oxford, in 1833. That college was then one of the two Evangelical fortresses in Oxford, the other being S. Edmund Hall.

Church gained a First Class in Classics, and in April, 1838, was elected Fellow of Oriel. One who had no sympathy with the Tractarians said of this election, "There was such a moral beauty about Church that they could not help taking him."¹ Mr. Church had come into touch with the Movement through Charles Marriott. From his election at

¹ R. Michell to Mark Pattison, quoted in M. Pattison, *Memoirs*, p. 163.



ISAAC WILLIAMS.

Oriel he became the devoted friend and disciple of Mr. Newman, and the friend of Frederic Rogers. Mr. Church, as Junior Proctor, by his force and courage saved the Movement from official condemnation in February, 1845. But that is to anticipate. His name calls for mention here among the brilliant band of the original men of the Movement. Two more need notice.

Isaac Williams was a wonderful example of what the Oxford Movement could do. He came up from Harrow to Trinity College, Oxford, a very finished Latin scholar and a first-rate cricketer, with no care for religion at all.¹ Through winning the Latin Poem Prize he came to know Mr. Keble. That acquaintanceship "changed his life."² For he went down to Keble's curacy at Southrop to read with him during the Long Vacation of 1823—and to that he owed his soul. Henceforward religion meant every thing to him. He became in time Fellow and Tutor of Trinity, and also for a time Newman's curate at S. Mary's. Isaac Williams was one of the poets of the Movement: his best-known volumes, *The Baptistery* and *The Cathedral* are read to-day. But his most popular work is his beautiful *Devotional Commentaries on the Gospel Narrative*. A strange thing is that Isaac Williams, who was,

¹ See his *Autobiography*, pp. 1-12. ² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

in his way, a moderate man—what would be called to-day “old-fashioned High Church”—who “would have been quite content with finding a slow abatement of the self-indulgent habits of University life, with keeping Fridays, with less wine in Common Room,” was yet the cause of two great storms which broke over the Movement. In 1839 he published a Tract, No. 80, with the title “On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge,”¹ the result of which was “like the explosion of a mine.”² It was really a beautiful and suggestive essay, and its object was to try to prevent the most sacred words being flung about at random, especially in declamatory appeals about the doctrine of the Atonement. In this respect it was directed against a common practice of some Evangelical preachers of the time, who preached what in those circles is sometimes termed technically “the naked Gospel.” The title of the Tract was enough: the very word “reserve” suggested keeping back part of the counsel of God. It showed, so its foes declared, the real spirit of the Movement—its love of secret and crooked

¹ See on Tract 80, Oakeley, *The Tractarian Movement*, p. 41; and Isaac Williams, *Autobiography*, pp. 88–91. The second Part of the Tract was published as No. 87 with the same title in 1840.

² Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 265.

ways, its Jesuitical spirit.¹ Bishops at once denounced it. One of the prelates (the Bishop of Gloucester) apparently had never read the Tract,² which of course gave him the greater freedom. The Tract, then, in itself both true and beautiful, roused the suspiciousness already stirred by Froude's *Remains*, and these suspicions were never again allayed.

The other great storm associated with the name of Isaac Williams (he was, I would repeat, one of the gentlest and most saintly of scholars) was the contest for the Professorship of Poetry in 1841 and 1842. Isaac Williams was the obvious successor to Mr. Keble, whose term of office was just over, for he was both a poet and a scholar. But he was a Tractarian. No contest actually took place, for on a comparison of promises it appeared that for Mr. Williams there were only 623 against 921 for his opponent; so Mr. Williams withdrew.³ It was the first open defeat. In 1842 Isaac Williams, distrustful of a growing party in the Movement and its effect on Newman, left Oxford and married and lived in Gloucestershire until his death in 1865. He remained to the end a firm and rather old-fashioned Anglican, in close touch with Dr. Pusey and

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 264, 265.

² Isaac Williams, *Autobiography*, pp. 91, 92.

³ See on this J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, pp. 126, 127.

Mr. Keble. Isaac Williams was one of the first of Mr. Newman's friends to renew his intercourse with him after the years of separation which followed his secession. Mr. Newman used to stay with him from time to time, and did so after Easter, 1865. Isaac Williams insisted on driving him to the station at the end of his visit, in order to have as much of his company as possible, and from an attack of his illness, brought on by this drive, he never rallied. "He has really been a victim," wrote Newman,¹ "of his old love for me."

Last of all in this group of scholars—and it might justly be said saints—comes William John Copeland. Like Isaac Williams, he was Scholar and then Fellow of Trinity. He had been born at Chigwell in Essex, and educated at S. Paul's School in London. Soon after his ordination as deacon he became curate, in 1829, to Archdeacon Watson at Hackney, and when he returned to Oxford, in 1832, he was emphatically a representative of the old High Churchmen. He was one of the best Latin scholars in Oxford, and he was an able and rising man in the University when he threw in his lot with the Tractarians and took his share in the *Library of the Fathers*, and in the *Plain Sermons by contributors to the Tracts for the Times* (though in fact Mr.

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 135.



WILLIAM JOHN COPELAND.



Copeland did not write any one of the Tracts). From that moment his fate was sealed. He, like Williams, was one of Newman's curates, chiefly at Littlemore, where his name was long remembered and loved. At Littlemore he remained to the end of Mr. Newman's time. Yet he too kept loyal to the English Church. The events of that time of stress almost overwhelmed him in mind and body, but he recovered. Like Mr. Keble, Copeland was a High Churchman, before the Movement, and he was a student of the Nonjurors. In 1849 he accepted a small living at Farnham in Essex, where he died in 1885, five years before his great master. To the care of Mr. Copeland is due the careful edition of Newman's Anglican sermons.

CHAPTER III

THE HOUR OF TRIAL

THE men mentioned in the last chapter formed the backbone and the original party of the Movement. But other days were at hand. A new school had arisen—men who had not the love and zeal for the English Church which had marked the first disciples. This party, to use Mr. Newman's own description, "cut into the original Movement at an angle, fell across its line of thought, and then set about turning that line in its own direction."¹ These fresh recruits were able and brilliant to a man, but they certainly lacked the same temper of discipline, sobriety, and self-distrust, which marked the earlier disciples. To come to names, they included Mr. W. G. Ward, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol, originally a follower of Dr. Arnold; Mr. F. W. Faber, Fellow of University, a poet and author of many well-known hymns; Mr. F. Oakeley, Fellow of Balliol, Prebendary of Lichfield, and Incumbent of the Margaret

¹ *Apologia*, p. 278.

Street Chapel; Mr. J. B. Morris, Fellow of Exeter, an eccentric scholar, but profoundly learned in Oriental languages; and Mr. J. D. Dalgairns, also of Exeter College. They were mostly "keenly religious men," Mr. Newman says,¹ but the witness of Dean Church who knew them well is no less true: "The direction of these men was unquestionably Romewards, almost from the beginning of their connection with the Movement." . . . "Rome, . . . so far as they understood it, had attractions for them which nothing else had."² But Mr. Newman held them back. In the long run they were to help to ruin the Movement in Oxford. This party stood in sharp contrast to the original men of the Movement.

A true picture of the state of things at that time must include one other group—the Oxford Heads of Houses. In these democratic days it is almost impossible to form an idea of the position which the Head of a college fancied that he held eighty years ago. Some idea of it can be gained from Thackeray's *Book of Snobs*.³ It is enough to say that most of the Heads at this time inhabited a sort of superior world in which few but themselves and their families moved. They

¹ *Apologia*, p. 278. ² Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 239.

³ Particularly chapter xiv, "On University Snobs."

lived in comfortable houses, they enjoyed large incomes, they were absolute masters of their own colleges. Even the Fellows had little chance against them should a dispute arise. They were practically autocrats. As each Head governed his own college, so the Heads together ruled the University, meeting weekly at a council called the Hebdomadal Board. No one would wish to take away the characters of these men to whom the government of the University was then entrusted, for they were all (with one exception, the Warden of Merton) clergymen and Doctors of Divinity; but it must be said that they were scandalously unequal to the occasion which arose. They were accused, some of them justly, of living idle and luxurious lives, given chiefly to amassing money and to the pleasures of the table;¹ in some cases such charges were unjust, but whether or no it was that the lives they lived produced a moral blindness, the fact remains that during the first years of the Movement the Heads of Houses at Oxford remained entirely aloof, serenely ignoring what was going on. What Dean Church calls "this

¹ e.g., Isaac Williams, the simplest and most charitable of men, writes: "Expensive parties . . . continued, especially among the Heads of Houses, who used to eat and drink very freely, and therefore with them our principles made us very unpopular." *Autobiography*, p. 80.

sublime and imbecile security" was occasionally interrupted by their annoyance at some Tractarian eccentricity, but at first for the most part they looked on at this with smiles and jokes. One example of their humour is worth recording. The Tractarians dated their letters by saints' days—e.g., "S. Luke's Day, 1833"—so in mockery one Head dated his letter "Washing Day."¹ For the most part the Heads were, in the scathing words of Dean Church, "blind and dull as tea-table gossips to what was the meaning of the Movement."²

It was a strange paradox. Here were the rulers of the great Christian University of the West called upon to deal with one of the greatest religious Movements that has yet arisen in England, and utterly unfit for the task. "In their apathy, in their self-satisfied ignorance, in their dullness of apprehension" they "let pass the great opportunity of their time."³ At first their attitude was that of

¹ This story told of Dr. Shuttleworth, Warden of New College, in *History of New College* (College Histories Series, Robinson), by Rashdall and Rait, p. 219, note, in a slightly different form from that given here. It is also told of the same divine (as Bishop of Chichester), by a writer who knew of one of his letters so dated, in Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning* (1895), i. 188, note 1.

² Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 246.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

contemptuous indifference. It passed later "into helpless and passionate hostility." There is, in the words of Dean Church, "no sadder passage to be found in the history of Oxford"¹ than the action of its rulers at this time. To their lasting shame they failed to see that the Movement which they disliked was one "for deeper religion, for a loftier morality, for more genuine self-devotion . . . than had ever been seen in Oxford. . . . Amid the clamour and tell-tale gossip and . . . the folly round them perhaps they were bewildered. But they must have the blame, the heavy blame, which belongs to all those who, when good is before them, do not recognize it." In their favour it may be pleaded that the Heads, with one exception, were ignorant of theology, and therefore unfitted to deal with the questions at issue. "To most of them English theology was an unexplored and misty region. Some of the ablest . . . had learnt to slight it. But they were doctors, and Oxford is a city of libraries."² And further, this must be added. The Heads, ignorant and alarmed, used against the Tractarians the most cruel and dangerous weapon that can be used in controversy—the charge of dishonesty. They blew up the alarm of treachery and

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 243. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 302–5.

conspiracy into a flame. They did this against men whom hitherto the University had delighted to honour: men who were among its chief teachers and scholars and thinkers, whose saintly lives were an example and an inspiration to all those who really knew them.

The Movement started with a passionate desire to serve God by presenting His Church in England in her full truth and beauty. And the Oxford Heads came to treat it as a mere revival of popery, and refused to see that "the Tractarians could be anything but fools or traitors."¹ Their leader in this evil course was principally the Provost of Oriel,² Dr. Hawkins, once the colleague and friend of Newman, Keble, and Pusey. Indeed, it was to Newman that Hawkins owed his election; but for him the Fellows in 1828 would have elected Mr. Keble. Newman in those days looked on Mr. Keble "like something one would put under a glass and put on one's chimney-piece to admire, but as too unworldly for business."³ Dr. Hawkins then was the leader of the Heads, and to his credit, be it said, that as a Head he was free from the reproach of luxury, and "set . . . an example

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 309.

² Church, *Occasional Papers*, vol. ii, p. 347.

³ Isaac Williams, *Autobiography*, pp. 48, 49.

of modest and sober simplicity of living.”¹ With him were the Warden of Wadham, Dr. Symons, who was a pronounced Evangelical, “a man of ponderous and pedantic learning,”² but of a very violent and narrow mind, and Dr. Cardwell, Principal of S. Alban Hall.

One, and he the most learned and venerable of the Heads, stood apart from his brethren in these counsels, and protested strongly against them. This was Dr. Martin Joseph Routh,³ the President of Magdalen, the last man in Oxford to wear a wig. But Dr. Routh was now well over eighty, and could do little but protest. He was unquestionably the most learned divine in Oxford, if not in England, of that day, and he knew perfectly well that the opinions which his brother Heads feared and hated were those of the older English divines.⁴ He is worthily commemorated in the dedication to him of the volume of Mr. Newman’s “Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protes-

¹ Church, *Occasional Papers*, vol. ii, p. 350. For a very favourable account of Dr. Hawkins, see Burgon, *Twelve Good Men*.

² Church, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 326, 327.

³ Dr. Routh, 1755–1854; on him see Burgon, *op. cit.* A full life of Dr. Routh, for which materials exist at Magdalen, has yet to be written.

⁴ See Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 304.

tantism, 1837." The dedication is one of the most beautiful examples of Mr. Newman's style : "To Martin Joseph Routh, D.D., President of Magdalen College, who has been reserved to report to a forgetful generation what was the theology of their fathers, this volume is inscribed, with a respectful sense of his eminent services to the Church, and with the prayer that what he witnesses to others may be his own support and protection in the day of account."¹ Dr. Routh stood apart from the policy of his brother Heads, and it appears that one other, Dr. Richards, the Rector of Exeter College, also opposed (but in vain) their later and more violent acts.²

With these exceptions, the action of the Heads was such as has been described, and it must be borne in mind because of this important fact : the unfair and violent policy of the Heads as much as anything accelerated the drift towards Rome.³

To return now to Mr. Newman, who in 1839 set out to prove to himself that the English Church was Catholic because it held the Catholic Faith. The effect of his doubt in 1839 had been to drive him more and more to

¹ It is dated Feast of S. Matthias, 1837.

² J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, p. 113.

³ Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 308.

Littlemore, a hamlet three miles from Oxford, which was then part of S. Mary's parish, and where in 1836 he had built a church. He spent the Easter of 1840 at Littlemore, and writes on that day: "We are all so happy that we are afraid of being too happy; we have got some roses, wallflowers, and sweet briar, and the Chapel smells as if to remind one of the Holy Sepulchre."¹ Here Newman flung himself more and more into parish work—his catechizing of the children became famous, and men went out from Oxford on Sundays to hear it.² He left S. Mary's more and more to his curates, and in 1842 he ceased to live in Oriel, and lived entirely at Littlemore. At Littlemore, between July and November, 1841, he says: "I received three blows which broke me." These were respectively the facts of the Arian history which forced him to think that Rome must be right; the storm of episcopal censure which suddenly burst upon him; and, lastly, the establishment, in conjunction with the Protestant State Church of Prussia, of an Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem.³

The new party in the Movement forced on

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, ii. 304.

² J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, p. 103 (April, 1840).

³ For the history of this see *Dictionary of English Church History*, s.v. Jerusalem, Bishopric in.



*NEWMAN'S BUILDING AT LITTLEMORE:
Intended to form the nucleus of a monastic house.*

Mr. Newman the question which the doubt of 1839 had brought to him—Does the English Church really hold the Catholic Faith, as, if she were part of the Catholic Church, obviously she must do? This led him to deal with the Thirty-Nine Articles, and early in 1841 he published the now famous Tract No. 90, entitled “Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles.” In this Tract Mr. Newman applied the historical method to the Articles, showing that much of their language was not against Rome, and dealing with them in a strictly theological and technical manner, much as a competent court of law would have done.¹ The Tract was published on February 27, 1841, and almost at once the storm broke. On March 8th, four Tutors, among them Mr. Tait of Balliol, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, protested against the Tract, and a week later the Heads of Houses, refusing to wait for any defence or explanation from Mr. Newman, though one was known to be coming, solemnly condemned the Tract and branded it as dishonest. Their condemnation of the Tract was, by their order, posted up in the buttery hatches of all the colleges and halls (where University notices are displayed), and at the gates of the Schools.

To deal thus with a man of Mr. Newman's

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 286.

known devotion and sincerity of character, apart from his distinction and position in Oxford, was, as Dean Church says, "an ungenerous and stupid blunder."¹ The old President of Magdalen protested strongly against the act.² Men of eminence came forward in Mr. Newman's defence—some of them the more old-fashioned Churchmen who had been frightened by the Tracts and by Froude's *Remains*. Among them were Mr. Palmer and Mr. Perceval of the original Hadleigh band, Dr. Hook of Leeds, Dr. Moberly of Winchester, and Mr. Keble. And, strangely, just as before in the case of Froude's *Remains*, Mr. Newman was unprepared for such an attack,³ for if what he said seemed to be new it was yet unquestionably true. But the effect on the author was disastrous and immediate. "I saw . . . that my place in the Movement was lost; public confidence was at an end; my occupation was gone. . . . In every part of the country and every class of society, in newspapers, . . . in pulpits, at dinner tables, in coffee rooms, in railway carriages, I was denounced as a traitor who had laid his train and was detected in the

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 291, 292, and 308.

² Ibid., p. 292; J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, p. 116.

³ See J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, p. 112; and *Apologia*, pp. 172, 173.

very act of firing it"—so he wrote. "Confidence in me was lost,"¹ he adds again.

Meanwhile, in deference to the Bishop of Oxford, he promised to stop the series of the Tracts, provided that the bishops would not condemn No. 90 and would allow him to continue to print it. "Not a scrap of writing was given me as a pledge of the performance on their side of the engagement. . . . It was an understanding. A clever man had warned me against understandings six years before. I have hated them ever since."² He might well say this, for after some six months the bishops, one after another, began to charge against him. "It was a formal movement, and there was no one," he says bitterly, "to enforce the understanding. They went on in this way, directing charges at me, for three whole years. I recognized it as a condemnation. . . . At first I intended to protest, but I gave up the thought in despair."³

It is not hard to understand his feelings, for it was a day of violence. One specimen of it may be given. Dr. Close of Cheltenham, a prominent Evangelical leader, and afterwards Dean of Carlisle, at a complimentary dinner, gave his judgement of Mr. Newman as follows: "When I first read No. 90, I did not then

¹ *Apologia*, p. 175.

² *Ibid.*, p. 175.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

know the author ; but I said then, and I repeat here, *not with any personal reference to the author*, that I should be sorry to trust the author of that Tract with my purse.”¹

Such was the language which good men could hold of Mr. Newman ; so in February, 1842, he retired to Littlemore. He had bought some land and built a row of simple houses, intended to be the nucleus in later days of a monastic house. Those houses stand still, turned now into labourers' cottages, but unchanged in structure, and Mr. Newman's rooms are still known and pointed out. With Mr. Newman went various friends. From this time Mr. Newman was, he says, “on his death-bed as regards the Anglican Church.” And in his long agony the Protestant world would not let him alone. “I cannot walk in and out of my house but curious eyes are upon me. Why will you not let me die in peace ? Wounded brutes creep into some hole to die in, and no one grudges it them. Let me alone : I shall not trouble you long. These are the very words,” he says, “in which I expressed it to myself.” “Heads of Houses,” he wrote, “as mounted patrols, walked their horses around these poor cottages. One day when I entered my house I found a flight of undergraduates inside. Doctors of Divinity dived

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 298, note 1.

into the hidden recesses of that private tenement uninvited." The agony at Littlemore was drawn out for nearly four years. On February 2, 1843, Mr. Newman preached for the last time before the University. On September 18, 1843, "after a sleepless night," he resigned his living of S. Mary's. On September 25, 1843, he preached his last sermon as an Anglican at Littlemore; he had preached for the last time in S. Mary's on the previous day. On October 15, 1843, Mr. Newman celebrated his last Eucharist at the altar of S. Mary's. Dr. Pusey, who had assisted at the first weekly Communion at S. Mary's, now at this last Eucharist did the same. From this time Mr. Newman lived in lay communion and performed no ministerial act.

No account of the Oxford Movement would be complete without mention of that scene when Mr. Newman preached his last and most touching sermon as an Anglican on "The Parting of Friends." It was the anniversary of the dedication of the church at Littlemore, and it was gay with flowers; but to friends it seemed decked as if for a funeral. Dr. Pusey, who celebrated, "could hardly help mingling sorrow even with that Feast."¹ The crisis had been

¹ A most vivid account of the service is given in the *Memorials of Mr. Serjeant Bellasis*, 2nd ed. (1895), pp. 63,

caused by one of Newman's close friends living at Littlemore being received suddenly into the Roman Church. This friend was the late William Lockhart, afterwards well known as a Roman Catholic clergyman in London.¹ The preacher speaks most tenderly of various partings in Holy Scripture, especially of our LORD's parting words to Jerusalem: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest," etc.;² and he continues, "A lesson, surely, and a warning to us all, in every place where He puts His Name, to the end of time. . . . O mother of saints! O school of the wise! O nurse of the heroic! of whom went forth, in whom have dwelt, memorable names of old. . . . O thou from whom surrounding nations lit their lamps! O virgin of Israel, wherefore dost thou now sit on the ground

64. Almost the last survivor of those present on that occasion was Dr. R. Gregory, Dean of S. Paul's, who died August 2, 1911.

Dean Gregory records that "after the sermon Newman descended from the pulpit, took off his hood, and threw it over the altar-rails, and it was felt by those present that this was to mark that he had ceased to be a teacher in the Church of England." See his *Autobiography*, ed. W. H. Hutton, p. 28.

¹ An admirable biography of Father Lockhart by the Rev. Joseph Hirst was printed at the press of Radcliffe College, Leicester, in 1893.

² S. Luke xiii. 34, 35; xix. 41, 42



W. A. P. 1844.

John H. N.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN IN 1844.

and keep silence like one of the foolish women who were without oil on the coming of the Bridegroom? Where is now the ruler in Sion, and the doctor in the Temple, and the ascetic on Carmel, and the herald in the wilderness, and the preacher in the market-place? . . . O my mother, whence is this unto thee, that thou hast good things poured upon thee and canst not keep them, and bearest children, yet darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services, nor the heart to rejoice in their love? How is it that whatever is generous in purpose, and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom and finds no home within thine arms? Who hath put this note upon thee, to have a 'miscarrying womb and dry breasts,' to be strange to thine own flesh, and thine eye cruel towards thy little ones? Thine own offspring, the fruit of thy womb, who love thee and would toil for thee, thou dost gaze on with fear, as though a portent, or thou dost loathe as an offence; at best thou dost but endure, as if they had no claim but on thy patience, self-possession, and vigilance, to be rid of them as easily as thou mayest. Thou makest them 'stand all the day idle,' as the very condition of thy bearing with them; or thou biddest them be gone where they will be more welcome; or thou sellest them for

nought to the stranger that passes by. And what will ye do in the end thereof? . . . And, O my brethren, O kind and affectionate hearts, O loving friends, should you know any one whose lot it has been, by writing or by word of mouth, in some degree to help you . . . if he has ever told you what you knew about yourselves, or what you did not know; has read to you your wants or feelings, and comforted you by the very reading; has made you feel that there was a higher life than this daily one, and a brighter world than that you see; or encouraged you, or sobered you, or opened a way to the inquiring, or soothed the perplexed; if what he has said or done has ever made you take interest in him, and feel well inclined towards him; remember such a one in time to come, though you hear him not, and pray for him, that in all things he may know God's will, and at all times he may be ready to fulfil it."¹

One who was an undergraduate at the time, the Presbyterian Principal Shairp, has described how men felt when it was known that Newman had ceased to be Vicar of S. Mary's: "On these things, looking over an interval of five-and-twenty years, how vividly comes back the remembrance of the aching blank, the awful

¹ *Sermons bearing on Subjects of the Day*, ed. 1891, pp. 406-9.

pause which fell on Oxford when that voice had ceased, and we knew that we should hear it no more. It was as when, to one kneeling by night in the silence of some vast cathedral, the great bell tolling solemnly overhead has suddenly gone still. . . . Since then many voices of powerful teachers may have been heard, but none that ever penetrated the soul like his." ¹

It was, indeed, the hour of trial. "Things look dark and cloudy just now," wrote the acute and evenly-balanced J. B. Mozley in November, 1844. "There is a general set upon us from all quarters, Conservative and Radical. The press never was so malignant. All movements," he adds, "have their dark times, and this may be only one of them." ² "Newman has been regularly down about things for a year or two, . . . and has expressed doubts as to the Catholicity of the English Church. . . . He is hardly ever in Oxford now." ³ The storm was rising higher. The Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, told a friend that he should take care "the Oxford party" got into no preferment while he was in office. ⁴ And the rising party of Liberals at

¹ Shairp, *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy*, 2nd ed. (Edin., 1872), p. 255.

² J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, p. 156.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Oxford were set against the Tractarians. "I distrust the Liberals," writes J. B. Mozley again at this time, "they hate us so."

These years were broken by one act yet more violent of the Heads in Oxford. On May 14, 1843, Dr. Pusey preached in his turn before the University. His subject was "The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent," and his object was to balance the sternness of his Tract on "Baptism." The sermon never went a line beyond Anglican limits. One of Dr. Pusey's brother professors, during the following week, accused the sermon of heresy before the Vice-Chancellor.¹ Six doctors of divinity were appointed to judge it. Dr. Pusey asked to be heard in defence: no answer was returned to his request; and without a hearing or even the formality of a trial he was, by the authority of the Vice-Chancellor, suspended from preaching in the University for two years, for teaching doctrine contrary to the Church of England. Dr. Pusey never knew the precise charge against his sermon, or the reasons for which it was condemned. All was done in secrecy and silence. The

¹ This was Dr. Philip Wynter, President of S. John's College from 1828 to 1871. He was Vice-Chancellor 1840-4. There is a brief account of him in Archdeacon W. H. Hutton's *History of S. John Baptist College*, pp. 226-7. Dr. Wynter was made a Canon of Worcester in 1868.

whole proceedings were a travesty of justice. Five of the six of Dr. Pusey's judges were his foremost and sternest opponents: one of them was his accuser. And their refusal of any opportunity of defence made it clear that they were afraid to meet Dr. Pusey face to face. An important memorial was sent to the Vice-Chancellor from London, signed by men so distinguished as Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Justice Coleridge. The Vice-Chancellor sent it back to London "by the hands of his Bedel," as if that stamped it with his disapprobation more than if he had sent it through the post. Moderate men—men of no party—were shocked by these proceedings, but the Heads were not to be turned from their path: they were determined to extirpate, if they could, the hated Tractarians from the University.¹

The blow to Dr. Pusey was cruel, but he bore it as few other men could. He strongly deprecated bitter language about his opponents, and he did his best to prevent its use. And he was at this time "without question the most venerated person in Oxford." His learning, the holiness of his life, the crushing sorrow of his wife's death four years before—all these had surrounded him with a pathetic and solemn interest. Amid all the bitterness

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 327-35.

of that bitter time he was overflowing with tenderness, and eager to avoid all bitterness in controversy. To have attacked him, and in such a way, was not merely a grave injustice, it was also a great mistake. For it proved the ruin of the power of the Heads. When the time of change came in Oxford, as it did a few years later, and the power of the Heads itself was reviewed, then it was entirely swept away, for no one had a word to say for them.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECESSIONS

THE last chapter gave some account of the forces at work inside and outside the Movement, which were ensuring a serious crisis. They were, briefly, the doubt in Mr. Newman's mind as to the English Church ; the growth of a new party in the Movement itself—a party which tended directly towards Rome ; and the action of the Oxford Heads, determined to use every weapon short of physical violence to stop the Movement and drive it out. The Heads had gone very far in 1843, when they suspended Dr. Pusey from preaching in the University for two years without giving him a trial. Matters were rapidly becoming serious. Two of the leaders were silenced in Oxford, Mr. Newman by his own act, Dr. Pusey by the act of the authorities, and the other leader, Mr. Keble, was away from Oxford at his living of Hursley. The drift to Rome had set in, and men had begun to go over as early as 1842.¹ A letter from

¹ For list of secessions in 1842 see E. G. K. Browne, *History of the Tractarian Movement*, p. 49 (second edition ;

James Mozley, Fellow of Magdalen, to R. W. Church, then Fellow of Oriel, shows how things stood. He writes :

“September 11, 1843. Things are looking melancholy now, . . . and you and I and all of us who can act together must be bestirring ourselves. I feel as if a new stage in the drama were beginning, in which we shall have to do the uncomfortable thing, and take rather higher parts than we have done hitherto.”¹

There was one more historic scene. It is just over seventy years ago since the great fight in the University between the Heads of Houses and the Tractarians took place. In the Long Vacation of 1844 Mr. W. G. Ward, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol, the leader of the Roman party, published a very bulky volume called *The Ideal of a Christian Church*, which was originally designed as an answer to a pamphlet by William Palmer of Worcester College. It is a very long and ill-arranged book, containing some bitter criticisms of the

Dublin, 1856). The first person of any note to secede was R. W. Sibthorp (sometime Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford) in October, 1841. (*Life of R. W. Sibthorp*, p. 63.) He returned in 1843, and went to Rome again in 1865, and was buried with the Prayer Book Burial Service when he died in 1879.

¹ J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, p. 146.

English Church, and "it assumes that the Roman Church, and only the Roman Church, satisfies the conditions of what a Church ought to be."¹ But the sting of the book lay in the fact that Mr. Ward claimed to keep his position in the English Church while holding and teaching all Roman doctrine. "We find," he writes—"oh most joyful, most wonderful, most unexpected sight! we find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English Churchmen." And Mr. Ward went on to say openly and frankly that he held all Roman doctrine, and had received no ecclesiastical censure. Naturally the Heads of Houses were determined to use the chance so given them. A violent man, Dr. Symons, Warden of Wadham, became Vice-Chancellor in October, and violent courses were resolved on. Their proposed measures were wrapped in great secrecy, and the Heads were extremely anxious that no hint of their intentions should be known until they were finally decided on. They had sent their proposals to London for counsel's opinion, and then "by one of those extraordinary incidents which occur now and then in fiction, but rarely in actual life," the documents were diverted from their proper destination in the post office at Oxford, and inserted in a parcel of college leases addressed

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 373, 374.

to one of the most enthusiastic Tractarians, Mr. (later Dr.) J. R. Bloxam, Fellow of Magdalen. "The secret thus disclosed was in honour kept by the astonished recipient ; but it was not in human nature but that particles of the information thus unexpectedly acquired should leak out in answer to perpetual inquiries."¹ The Heads, after rejecting various plans, proposed to cause the University (1) to censure Mr. Ward's book ; (2) to degrade him from his B.A. and M.A. degrees ; (3) to condemn Tract No. 90, which had now been published for four years.

On Thursday, February 13, 1845, in a bitter snowstorm and intense cold, the streets of Oxford were crowded with Masters of Arts and Doctors of Divinity from all over England, come up to attend the Convocation in which these measures were to be decided. Diocesan bishops, peers, statesmen, M.P.s, and country clergymen, all were packed together there. Undergraduates crowded the roof of the Sheldonian Theatre in which the Convocation was held and snowballed the Vice-Chancellor as his procession passed

¹ *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, pp. 304, 305. The story (without mention of Dr. Bloxam's name) first appeared in print in the *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1881, p. 320, in an article known to be by Dean Stanley.

in. Mr. Ward made a long defence, which only exasperated his opponents, though the humour of it was extraordinary. "When he ceased," writes one who was there, "the universal immense laughter with which his speech was received was one of the historical laughs of the world. I never remember anything like it."¹ His book was condemned by 777 votes to 386.

Then came the proposal to deprive Mr. Ward of his degrees and make him an undergraduate again. This was rather a childish act, but it was carried; yet by a very much smaller majority, 569 to 511. Then came the proposal to condemn Tract No. 90. Amid a storm of yells and cheering the two Proctors, Mr. Guillemard, Fellow of Trinity, and Mr. Church, Fellow of Oriel, rose to their feet, and in a clear voice there rang out above the din the phrase in which the Proctors use their veto, "Nobis Procuratoribus non placet!" The Proctors had vetoed the proposal, and the threatened defeat was saved. That scene has been often described.² The Dean of Chichester, Dr. Chandler, flung himself out

¹ J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, p. 165.

² Church, *Life and Letters*, p. 56; J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, p. 165. There is a very full account in the *Oxford University, City, and County Herald*, Saturday, February 15, 1845 (vol. xxxix, no. 2015), p. 3.

of his seat and wrung both Proctors by the hand. Without a word more the Vice-Chancellor tucked up his gown and hurried out of the theatre, and the proceedings came to an abrupt end. And as the procession passed out the unusual sound was heard of crowds of undergraduates cheering the Proctors, while the Vice-Chancellor was hissed and even snowballed again. Men knew that the determination to use the veto came from Mr. Church, the Junior Proctor, and that he, in the face of determined odds, had, in the crisis, saved the day.¹ That evening Mr. Church sat down to write to his mother. He said: "The only thing to relieve the day has been the extreme satisfaction I had in helping to veto the third iniquitous measure against Newman. It was worth while being Proctor to have had the unmixed pleasure of doing this."²

Events moved quickly now. Mr. Newman (who had not attended the Convocation) wrote privately to thank the Proctors, but publicly he gave no sign until October 3rd, when he wrote to the Provost of Oriel to resign formally the fellowship he had held for over twenty

¹ For a brief account of the Senior Proctor, the Rev. H. P. Guillemard, see F. Meyrick's *Memories of Life at Oxford*, etc., p. 13 (1905).

² Church, *Life and Letters*, p. 57.

years. The end was at hand. Five days later he wrote to many of his friends the following letter :

“Littlemore, October 8, 1845.—I am this night expecting Father Dominic the Passionist. He is a simple, holy man ; and withal gifted with remarkable powers. He does not know of my intention, but I mean to ask of him admission into the One Fold of CHRIST.”¹

That time is vividly described by Mr. Oakeley : “It was a memorable day, that 9th of October,² 1845. The rain came down in torrents, bringing with it the first heavy instalment of autumn’s ‘sere and yellow’ leaves. The wind, like a spent giant, howled forth the expiring notes of its equinoctial fury. The superstitious might have said that the very elements were on the side of Anglicanism, so copiously did they weep, so piteously bemoan, the approaching departure of its great representative. The bell which swung visibly in the turret of the little Gothic church at Littlemore gave that day the usual notice of morning

¹ *Apologia*, p. 367. The letter written to his sister, Mrs. Mozley, differs slightly from this form : “I shall ask him to receive me into what I believe to be the One Fold of the Redeemer.”—*Letters and Correspondence*, ii. 468.

² Oakeley, as R. H. Hutton pointed out in his *Cardinal Newman* (Second Edition, 1892), p. 186 and note, was a day wrong in his reckoning. For “the 9th of October” he should have written “the 8th.”

and afternoon prayers ; but it came to the ear in that buoyant, bouncing tone which is usual in a high wind, and sounded more like a knell than a summons. The 'monastery' was more than usually sombre and still. Egress and ingress there was none that day, for it had been given out . . . that 'Mr. Newman wished to remain quiet.' The 9th of the month passed off without producing any satisfaction to the general curiosity. All that transpired was that a remarkable-looking man, evidently a foreigner, and shabbily dressed in black, had asked his way to Mr. Newman's. . . . Very soon the mystery was cleared up by Mr. Newman and his companions appearing at Mass in the public chapel at Oxford."¹

To his intimate friends the announcement came as a relief—they had long known what was coming, and the suspense of waiting had been terrible. Now the blow had fallen, and Mr. Newman had gone. No man had more devoted friends than he, and yet no one of his original colleagues in the Movement went with

¹ Oakeley, *The Tractarian Movement*, pp. 98, 99. An account of the scene at Littlemore, and of Mr. Newman's reception, is given in Wilfrid Ward's *Life of Cardinal Newman*, i. 93, 94. The account given by Father Dominic himself is also printed there. Father Dominic a few years later died suddenly on the platform of the Great Western Railway Station at Reading.

him to Rome. Pusey, Keble, Church, Charles Marriott loved Mr. Newman as few men have been loved, but they could not follow him to Rome. Their belief in the English Church remained firm, unshaken, clear. But the shock of Mr. Newman's secession unsettled very many. Lord Beaconsfield said¹ that it is a blow under which the English Church still reels. Mr. Gladstone used to be fond of comparing it to a storm which had "left wrecks on every shore."² Certainly some who had been anchored to Newman were strangely cast adrift. Some, like J. A. Froude, Fellow of Exeter (afterwards Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford), and Mark Pattison, then Fellow and later Rector of Lincoln, were flung on the rocks of religious doubt, and became in later years Liberals in theology of the most pronounced type—if indeed they were believers at all—and others followed Mr. Newman, sooner or later, to Rome. But the main body held firm under Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble and Charles Marriott. At first, indeed, the days were gloomy enough; their foes believed that the Movement was over, and part of it certainly was ended. Mr. Ward's affair had meant the defeat of the cause as a purely aca-

¹ General Preface to Disraeli's novels, ed. 1870.

² Quoted in the *Commonwealth* (February, 1908), p. 52.

demic, University affair, for on all sides, by the voices of authority in Oxford, men were urged to go, to leave the English Church, and go to Rome. They were invited on the one side to come: they were told scornfully and sternly on the other to go;¹ and as things were it required great self-control, great patience, and great faith to keep true to the old banner when what looked like a complete rout had set in. For in Oxford the Heads were triumphant, and a regular proscription began. Men were "worried out of the Church," to use Charles Marriott's phrase at the time.² Dean Church described the state of things in a letter long afterwards: "We sat glumly at our breakfasts every morning, and then some one came in with news of something disagreeable, some one gone, some one sure to go. The good Heads ate and drank, and only cared in an obscure sort of way for these things . . . not those who went, but we who stayed were voted impostors. The only two facts of the time were that Pusey and Keble did not move, and that James Mozley showed that there was one

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 394.

² "At that time (1848) if you were able to describe a man as a Puseyite he became *ipso facto* unfit for any public appointment."—M. Pattison, *Memoirs*, p. 230; Church, *Life and Letters*, p. 61 note.



DR. J. B. MOZLEY.

strong mind and soul still left in Oxford.”¹ In another letter, looking back the Dean said, “With all the terrible losses of 1845, I am not sure that without them we should have done as well as we have. They awed people and made them think, and gave time for the latent strength of the Church to grow quietly.”² It is the judgement of one who saw the facts clearly, and saw them whole. The defeat and losses of 1845, black as they looked, were part of the “growing pains,” if the expression may be allowed, of the Revival. They prevented it from becoming too much the work and reflexion of the genius of one man, and they carried it away from Oxford. And away from Oxford “it assumed proportions scarcely dreamed of when it began.”³ The great towns woke into life under its quickening touch. But that belongs to the later story. One immediate effect was to bring out the genius and power of one of the ablest men who had joined the Tractarian banner, James Bowling Mozley. It was he who now, at Oxford, first rose to his full height, and with Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, and Charles Marriott, “headed the rally and stemmed the flight.” James Mozley had

¹ Church, *Life and Letters*, p. 322 (Nov. 11, 1886).

² Ibid., p. 260 (May 23, 1877).

³ Church, *Occasional Papers*, ii. 347.

come up, aged seventeen, as a Scholar to Oriel, where his brother Thomas was already Fellow, in 1830. He failed to be elected Fellow, principally, it would seem, because his brother was already in that position, and after taking his degree he resided in Dr. Pusey's house, and later in a hostel begun for young research students, and worked for the Movement, editing and translating.¹ His connexion with the Tractarians (he was closely connected by marriage with Newman, for two of his brothers had married two of Newman's sisters) prejudiced him in the elections to Fellowships, but he was at last elected Fellow of Magdalen in July, 1840.²

From this time he was never idle: brilliant articles came from his pen. The most famous are collected in two now rather scarce volumes, *Essays Historical and Theological*, and they are to-day a mine of delight to those lucky

¹ The writer possesses a letter addressed Dec. 15th, 1838, to

“The Rev. J. B. Mozley,

S. Aldate's,

Opposite Christ Church Back Gate

(By West's Stables),

Oxford”;

which fixes the exact site of the hostel. An account of it is given in Liddon's *Life of Dr. Pusey*, i. 339.

² J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, p. 108. His election was due chiefly to the Tractarian Fellows—J. R. Bloxam, F. A. Faber, W. Palmer.

enough to come across them. No one who has the chance should fail to read the essays on Strafford and Laud, as well as those on Carlyle and on Dr. Arnold. James Mozley combined, according to Mr. Gladstone—and he was no mean judge of such a matter—"the clear form of Cardinal Newman with the profundity of Bishop Butler."¹ He was indeed one of the deepest thinkers of his time. Mr. Mozley came later, in 1855, to differ from the rest of his party on the question of the Gorham Judgment as to Baptismal Regeneration, but he remained to the end "in a very real sense, a High Churchman."² In 1869 Mr. Gladstone made him Canon of Worcester, and in 1871 Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. He was, without question, one of the greatest men who have occupied that post in the last two centuries. His University Sermons, when they were published, created a stir in the intellectual world which few volumes of sermons have made. His Bampton Lectures on "Miracles," in 1865, "lifted the discussion to the level it ought to occupy,"³ and his great intellectual power impressed even his strong opponents, Tyndall, and Huxley, and J. S. Mill.⁴

¹ Quoted, *Commonwealth*, p. 52 (Feb., 1908).

² J. B. Mozley, *Essays*, etc., i. xlv. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁴ *Commonwealth* (Feb., 1908), p. 52.

Dr. Mozley died, unhappily for Oxford and the English Church, after a very brief tenure of the Professorship, in 1878, when he was only sixty-five; but he was one of the most brilliant writers and profound thinkers among even the remarkable men of the Oxford Movement.¹

With James Mozley, Charles Marriott did much to head the rally. Of his great ability mention has been made,² after 1845 he was set in the forefront of the battle. In 1850 he became Vicar of S. Mary's, the University Church, but besides his parochial work on him there fell much of the burden of editing the "Library of the Fathers." Too much of the mere mechanical drudgery came to his share—correcting proofs, collating MSS., translating himself and correcting the translations of others.³ Meanwhile, to Marriott came those with Roman difficulties or who had lost faith altogether. If they did not come they wrote, and his correspondence became quite unmanageable.⁴

¹ See on Dr. Mozley a brilliant paper in the *Commonwealth*, February, 1908, by Dr. H. S. Holland, who succeeded to Dr. Mozley's chair in 1910. Dr. Mozley is buried in the little-known cemetery of S. Sepulchre, at Oxford, by the side of his wife. The writer of his life in the *D.N.B.* states, incorrectly, that he was buried at Shoreham.

² See above, pp. 64-5.

³ Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, pp. 166, 167.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

To him too came most foreign ecclesiastics of distinction in the Church who visited Oxford. Learned Benedictines, American and Colonial bishops, all made their way to the rooms of Marriott in Oriel.¹ He was besides a devoted priest. When cholera visited Oxford in 1854 Charles Marriott was constant in his attendance at the rough improvised pest-house. Absolutely fearless of danger, he would minister to the last moment. "I seem to see him now," wrote an eye-witness, "hearing the confession of a dying man in one part of the ward, while in another part the priest from the Roman Catholic Church was ministering in like manner to one of his flock."² So with the most hopeless cases, nothing was too hard or too difficult for him. Attending some small-pox cases, Charles Marriott caught the disease and was seriously ill, but recovered. Marriott too, partly to relieve Newman, bought from him the buildings at Littlemore which had been the quasi-monastic house till the break-up came.³ Worn out with drudgery which many a lesser man could have done for him and so left him free for higher work, Charles Marriott was suddenly struck down by paralysis on S. Peter's Day, 1855. He lingered on for three years, and died in September, 1858.

¹ Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, p. 182.

² *Ibid.*, p. 169.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

Looking back at that life now, it is impossible not to feel bitter regret that it was sacrificed so much to mere hack-work, that so little was done which his genius and learning could have produced. Though comparatively little remains to witness to his intellectual greatness, yet Marriott did his part nobly. Of all men he indeed fought a good fight, fought it when the battle was at its hottest and the odds terribly against him. What that stress must have been can be seen, for he broke down when he was only forty-four. Indeed, Charles Marriott realizes as few do the words of S. Paul, for not only did he "fight a good fight," but "he kept the Faith and he finished the course." And before that course was run he had handed on the torch to other men. For it was from him that Edward King, the dearly loved Bishop of Lincoln, caught the flame in the gloomy days of 1845. Dr. King was an undergraduate at Oriel, and he has himself said, "If I have any good in me, I owe it to Charles Marriott."¹ And through Dr. King, with his wonderful power over men at Cuddesdon and in Oxford and at Lincoln, Charles Marriott's work was continued, and continues to-day.

The consecration of S. Saviour's, Leeds, on October 28, 1845, less than three weeks

¹ Burgon, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

after Mr. Newman's secession, marked a fresh side of the Revival, and the unfaltering courage of its followers. The church was the anonymous gift of Dr. Pusey, and it showed that the Movement was not merely a matter for students in universities, but for working men in the great towns. Hurrell Froude had urged, in the early days, that the Movement must set to work to Christianize the neglected masses of the cities, whom the Evangelicals had hardly touched at all, and S. Saviour's, Leeds, was an attempt to put the ideal into practice. The history of S. Saviour's was at first desperately tragic. The Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Longley) harassed its clergy. Dr. Hook, the Vicar of Leeds, was anxious and suspicious, and, as time went on, violent and bitter. Consequently the first vicar went to Rome, followed by his curates, and in time the third vicar followed. It was a natural result of the policy pursued by the Bishop of Ripon and by the Vicar of Leeds at the time. A most touching book, a *Narrative of Five Years at S. Saviour's, Leeds*,¹ gives a good picture of the persecution to which clergy of the Oxford school were subject at this time. Alexander

¹ *Narrative of Five Years at S. Saviour's, Leeds*, by the Rev. J. H. Pollen, Oxford, 1851. The history of this much-persecuted Church is told also in Liddon's

Forbes, very soon to be Bishop of Brechin, became vicar for a few months in 1847, and acted as a steadying influence, and in time that beautiful church became the centre of the work which its founder had designed.

The first of the followers of the Movement to become a diocesan bishop in England was the saintly Walter Kerr Hamilton, who was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury in 1854. He bravely and faithfully taught the Church's Faith, and his great charge to his diocese in 1867, in which he spoke out clearly on the Real Presence, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and Absolution, marked another stage in the story. No one could truthfully call Bishop Hamilton a Romanizer or an ignoramus. He had been loved and revered for his holy life by men of all schools of thought at Oxford, where he had been Fellow and Tutor of Merton and Vicar of S. Peter's in the East. He was certainly qualified to speak, and speak he did in 1867 with no uncertain sound. His charge of that year remains a monument of sound learning and Catholic teaching which no opponent can lightly gainsay. But before that charge was delivered much history had been made.

Life of Dr. Pusey, iii. 112, 136, 354-68, and most excellently in Baring-Gould's *The Catholic Revival* (1914), pp. 266-89. See also Stephens' *Life and Letters of Dean Hook* (ed. 1881), pp. 394-402, 410, 452-3, 593.



*WALTER KERR HAMILTON, 90TH BISHOP OF
SALISBURY.*

In 1851 another tide of secessions to Rome set in, in consequence of the decision of the Privy Council in the case of Mr. Gorham. The Bishop of Exeter, an old-fashioned High Churchman, had refused to institute Mr. Gorham to the benefice of Brampford Speke in his diocese because in his judgment that divine denied Baptismal Regeneration. A law-suit followed, of which the story is long and complicated. Gorham held a view of Baptism which was distinct from that held by most Evangelicals at that day. The Judicial Committee, before whom the case came on appeal, with considerable ingenuity attributed to Mr. Gorham a view which was not his, and proceeded to declare this view "not contrary or repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England as by law established." The judgment was delivered on March 8, 1850, one of the lay judges and the Bishop of London dissenting from it.¹ Dr. Pusey himself, the greatest authority in England at that time on the doctrine of Baptism, was in doubt as to whether the theory so ingeniously compiled was sufficient to disqualify one who accepted it from holding a cure of souls in the English

¹ The Gorham case is well summarized by D. C. Lathbury in his monograph on Mr. Gladstone (1907), pp. 42-69; by Dr. Liddon, *Life of Dr. Pusey*, iii. 201-90, and by G. Crosse, *Dict. of Eng. Ch. History*, s.v. Gorham.

Church. But "the resistance to the judgment was largely in the hands of men who, for various reasons, were anxious rather to hurry on than to avert a crisis."¹ As a result Archdeacon Manning, Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce, James Hope (later Hope-Scott), T. W. Allies, W. Maskell, J. H. Pollen, and many others, priests and lay people, left the English Church. A panic set in. It was a cruel blow to the Revival, but at the same time a proof of its inherent truth and strength, for no merely human movement could have stood the shock of 1851, following so hard upon that of 1845.

The faith of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble, Charles Marriott, James Mozley, and Richard William Church, did not stand or fall by the judgments of the Privy Council. They remained true, unwavering, loyal to the English Church. Some of the converts to Rome felt the separation keenly. Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce, in a preface to a book he published just before his secession, expressed those feelings pathetically when he wrote of the hardness of leaving the "fair parsonage where everything within and without speaks of comfort and peace, where sympathizing neighbours present an object to the affections, and the bell from an adjoining ancient tower invites the inmates,

¹ Lathbury, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

morning and evening, to consecrate each successive day to God's service"; of the difficulty of "transplanting one's ancient seat, when" one "is too old to take root in a new soil."¹ All that was true enough, and it was a bitter time for those men whose consciences forced them to go; but the effect was not good on all of them. "Some . . . began life anew, took their position as humble learners in the Roman schools, and made the most absolute sacrifice of a whole lifetime that a man can make. To others the change came . . . as an emancipation from the obligations of Orders and priestly vows and devotion."² This was the case with some, certainly, who left in 1851, and correspondents record, with a sort of loathing, encounters with old friends they had known in all the decorum of clerical black, now dressed, as one describes it,³ in "blue neckties and ginger-coloured trousers." These secessions increased the popular dread of the Revival. A "No-Popery" and anti-Puseyite scare began, fanned by Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister, and the lot of the Tractarians became harder than ever.

¹ R. I. Wilberforce, *Principles of Church Authority* (London, 1854), Preface, p. ix. Archdeacon Wilberforce was born in 1802; he died in 1857.

² Church, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 395, 396.

³ J. B. Mozley, *Letters*, p. 207 and note 1.

CHAPTER V

THE STORY AFTER 1851

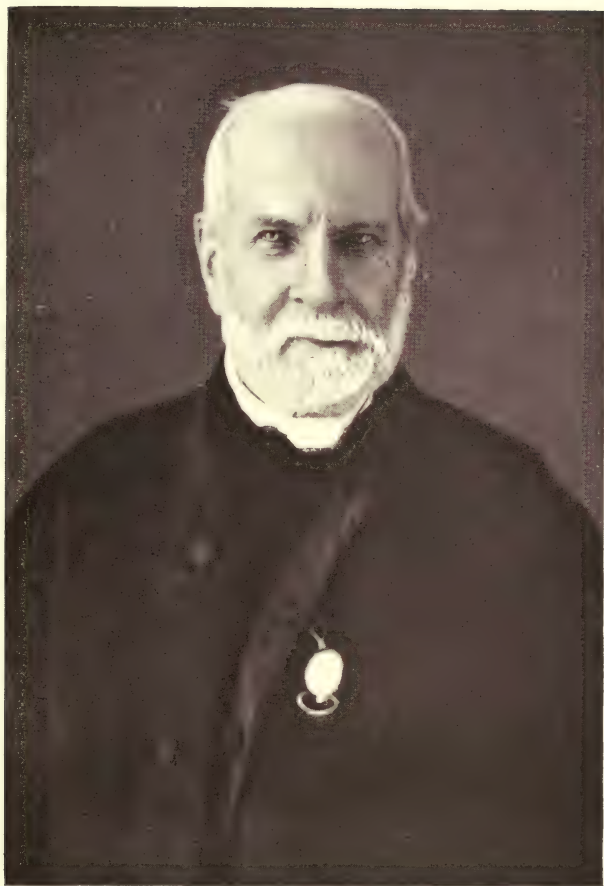
THE attack upon the doctrine of one great Sacrament led swiftly to an attack upon the other. George Anthony Denison, Archdeacon of Taunton, who had been Fellow of Oriel with Newman and Pusey, was prosecuted in 1854 for teaching the Real Presence. Denison had been among those present at the delivery of the Gorham judgment on March 8, 1850, in company with his friend Lord John Thynne, Subdean of Westminster. As they came down the steps of the Council Office the future archdeacon said to his friend, "Well, what do you think will come next?"

Lord John Thynne replied, "I suppose you mean something about the other Sacrament?"

"Yes," said Denison, "and it will come very soon." He did not know, when he said it, he noted in later years, that it would come in his own person within four years from that day.¹

The story of the Denison case is simpler than that of Mr. Gorham. Mr. Denison (who

¹ *Notes of My Life*, by G. A. Denison, 2nd ed., p. 190.



G. A. DENTON, ARCHDEACON OF TAUNTON.

had been appointed Archdeacon of Taunton in 1851) was charged by his neighbour, Joseph Ditcher, Vicar of South Brent, with teaching doctrine contrary to the English Church in two sermons preached in Wells Cathedral in June and November, 1853. The proceedings began in 1854, and after various delays the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. J. B. Sumner, a bitter opponent of the Oxford Movement, presided over a court at Bath to try the case. (The archbishop presided in place of the diocesan, who was precluded from hearing the case by being the patron of the benefices held by Mr. Denison. The court was the Diocesan Court of Bath and Wells.)

The court signalized its proceedings by condemning (in pure ignorance) as contrary to the English Church the doctrine of one of its greatest divines since the breach with Rome—Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, one of the principal authorities on the English side in the Roman controversy. After such a feat, it had no difficulty in finding the archdeacon guilty, and condemned him to be deprived of his vicarage and archdeaconry. Archdeacon Denison appealed to the Provincial Court, which reversed the decision on a technical ground, and the reversal was maintained on the same ground by the Judicial Committee in 1858. The archdeacon was accused of

sheltering himself under a legal technicality, an accusation to which he replied with vigour.¹

In fact there were, it would seem, five points of objection to the decision of the court at Bath, "of which the first in logical and historical order would be that the suit was too late, and the last that the archbishop was wrong in deciding the teaching to be heresy." The archdeacon, it is believed, wished to rely on the last point only, and fight nothing but the question of heresy, but his legal advisers would not allow him to discard any of his grounds of appeal.² The case was to this extent indecisive, but it produced a notable result in the treatises on the doctrine at issue which were published respectively by Mr. Keble and by Dr. Pusey. Mr. Keble's treatise *On Eucharistical Adoration*, published in 1857, is "perhaps the most beautiful of his contributions to the theological treasures of the Church of England,"³ and to it he is said to have devoted more time and trouble

¹ *Notes of My Life*, 2nd ed., pp. 242, 243.

² Lord Justice Phillimore in a Note contributed to *Fifty Years at East Brent* (1902), pp. 66, 67. The statement of the Lord Justice is most important because Archdeacon Denison was his uncle, and his father, Sir Robert Phillimore, the great ecclesiastical lawyer and judge, was counsel for his brother-in-law the archdeacon in the suit.

³ Liddon, *Life of Dr. Pusey*, iii. 446.

than to any other of his works. Dr. Pusey's book, *The Real Presence in the Fathers*, appeared two years earlier, in 1855, and he followed it up in 1857 by a shorter treatise on *The Real Presence* in which he showed that this doctrine was the teaching of the English Church. This latter work is but a fragment of what he had intended to be a much larger book ; but the end of the Denison case and his broken health led him to be content with the smaller work.¹ In the first of these books can be seen at its best Dr. Pusey's broad and massive learning, and also, what is rarer, an example of his eloquence, a gift which as a rule he kept under rigid and severe control. He concluded his treatise thus :

“Along the whole course of time, throughout the whole circuit of the Christian world, from East and West, from North and South, there floated up to CHRIST our LORD one harmony of praise. Unbroken as yet lived on the miracle of the Day of Pentecost, when the HOLY SPIRIT from on high swept over the discordant strings of human tongues and thoughts, of hearts and creeds, and blended all their varying notes into one holy unison of truth. From Syria and Palestine and Armenia ; from Asia Minor and Greece ; from Thrace and Italy ; from Gaul

¹ Liddon, *Life of Dr. Pusey*, iii. 447.

and Spain ; from Africa Proper, and Egypt, and Arabia, and the Isles of the Sea ; wherever any Apostle had taught, wherever any Martyr had sealed with his blood the testimony of JESUS ; from the polished cities, or the Anchorites of the desert, one Eucharistic voice ascended : ‘ Righteous art Thou, O LORD, and all Thy words are truth. Thou hast said, “ This is My Body,” “ This is My Blood.” Hast Thou said, and shalt not Thou do it ? As Thou hast said, so we believe.’ ”¹

The attack on the doctrine of the Real Presence rallied the old High Churchman once more to the standard of the Movement, while at the same time new names are seen in its ranks. A weighty declaration on the doctrine of the Real Presence, a protest against the Bath judgment in 1857 bears the names of veterans like Keble, Pusey, and Isaac Williams, and W. J. E. Bennett with those of T. T. Carter, J. M. Neale, and J. R. Woodford (later Bishop of Ely) who were already coming to take a place in the forefront of the battle. Meanwhile older churchmen, as Sir John Coleridge, Archdeacon Churton, and the Bishop of Exeter welcomed Pusey’s treatise of 1855 with something like enthusiasm.²

¹ *Real Presence in the Fathers*, pp. 721, 722.

² Liddon, *Life of Dr. Pusey*, iii. 433.

But the contest was not yet over. The Evangelical Alliance had been the true movers in prosecuting Archdeacon Denison; a later body, the Church Association (formed in 1865), prosecuted Mr. W. J. E. Bennett for teaching the Real Presence in 1869. Mr. Bennett had in an essay and in a pamphlet of 1867 used expressions which were theologically indefensible on the Eucharistic Presence. He had written of "a visible Presence" and of "adoring and teaching the people to adore the consecrated elements."¹ These expressions he withdrew, and substituted for them, at Dr. Pusey's suggestion, "who myself adore, and teach the people to adore, CHRIST present in the Sacrament under the form of Bread and Wine, believing that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of my LORD and Saviour JESUS CHRIST."

In 1870 the Dean of the Arches, Sir Robert Phillimore, in a learned judgment decided in favour of Mr. Bennett. The Church Association appealed to the Privy Council, which in 1872 pronounced in Mr. Bennett's favour. Mr. Bennett had disregarded all the proceedings, had refused to employ counsel, and had declined to appear before the Court of the Arches since that Court held itself bound by decisions of the Privy Council.

¹ *The Story of W. J. E. Bennett*, p. 219.

From 1872 no further attacks were made in the Law Courts on the doctrine of the Real Presence, and to that extent the learning and the labours of Mr. Keble and Dr. Pusey had borne real and lasting fruit.

But the attack on the teaching of the Tractarians only shifted its ground. The question of Confession and Sacramental Absolution was bound in view of the ignorance of the time to be fiercely contested, and in view of popular prejudice it offered a promising field for attack.

The practice of private confession to a priest had died hard, if indeed it had ever actually died, in the English Church at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. There is evidence to suggest that the practice had never died out. Thus Mr. Newman, writing on August 13, 1844, speaks of a Mr. Fortescue, a great friend of Henry Wilberforce: "He is of a nonjuring family, and was taught secretly Catholic doctrine and practice from a child. From a child, I have heard he has gone to confession."¹

No doctrine was more firmly embedded in the Prayer Book than that of private Confession and Absolution, and none has a more remarkable support from the teaching and practice of Anglican divines. And not of

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, ii. 435.

divines only, but of English laity of the two centuries succeeding the breach with Rome. The doctrine of the Power of the Keys was taught by the Tractarians as the authorities warranted, with the result that the use of private confession grew. Mr. Newman heard confessions ; W. G. Ward heard them, though his doubts about English Orders were such that he used to kneel beside the penitent and pray for forgiveness instead of giving the Prayer Book absolution ; Archdeacon Manning began to hear confessions in 1844, and named that ministry in 1847 as one of the chief agents in his conversion to God ; Charles Marriott heard confessions ; while Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble exercised this ministry perhaps more widely than any other priests of the English Church.¹ The chief charge brought against the clergy of S. Saviour's, Leeds, in 1848, was that "a regular system of Confession was taught and practised there." Dr. Hook, swayed by the alarms of the day, had begun to denounce such teaching, though

¹ The evidence for this, which might easily be added to, is to be found in Fr. William Lockhart's *Cardinal Newman* (1891), p. 13 ; *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 216 ; Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*, i. 232, 492, 493 ; Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men* (one-vol. ed.), p. 169. For Dr. Pusey, see *Life*, iii. 94, 110. Mr. Keble's strong opinions on the subject of Confession are printed in his *Letters of Spiritual Counsel*.

previously he would seem to have accepted it ; and the Bishop of Ripon was strong on the same side. Mr. Keble went to Leeds in 1848 to try to mediate, and, after seeing Dr. Hook, wrote : " He (Dr. Hook) did not specify any evil practices : so that, as far as I can see, it resolves itself into an attack on the principle of private Confession and authoritative Absolution. I reported all this to Moberly " (Dr. G. Moberly, then Head Master of Winchester, later Bishop of Salisbury) " to-day, and he wonders both at Hook and the bishop, but says if they were to attack Catholic doctrine it is well they should have chosen this point, it is so impregnable, according to the Prayer Book." ¹ Storms on the subject rose from time to time as the Movement progressed ; but they were, as a rule, local disturbances until 1858, when *The Times* newspaper gave prominence to an attack upon Mr. Richard Temple West, then Curate of All Saints', Boyne Hill. It was alleged that Mr. West (later well known as the first Vicar of S. Mary Magdalene's, Paddington) had put improper questions to a woman, that he had insisted on her making her confession, and had urged her not to tell her husband. The Bishop of Oxford (Dr. S. Wilberforce) appointed a commission to examine the charges ;

¹ Liddon, *Life of Dr. Pusey*, iii. 358.

and the commissioners, presided over by the Chancellor of the Diocese, unanimously agreed that there was no case against Mr. West. His mother, Lady Maria West, had attended the inquiry with her son. When the proceedings were over, as she was leaving the Court, "she heard one of the bystanders say, 'That's his mother.' She quickly turned round, drew herself up, and exclaimed, 'Yes, and proud to be.'"¹

It was in one way unfortunate for the followers of the Oxford Movement that the teaching of the Prayer Book was in this matter so clearly on their side, for it made their opponents unwilling to challenge an authoritative and formal decision, and drove them to use, with singular lack of scruple, the weapons of slander and of innuendo. The followers of the Movement had openly proclaimed the Prayer Book teaching; almost the last number of the *British Critic* (that for April, 1843) had opened with a long and learned dissertation on "Sacramental Confession." Dr. Pusey, in his first sermon before the University after his suspension, "The entire Absolution of the Penitent," preached on February 1st, 1846, had taught the Church's Faith upon the

¹ A full account of the Boyne Hill case is in the *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii. 386-406. *Memoir of R. T. West*, pp. 28-30.

matter very distinctly and fully ; while in 1851 William Gresley, Prebendary of Lichfield, had published a book, *The Ordinance of Confession*, which was a simple and practical guide in the matter ; yet the answer of opponents was as a rule to challenge the honour or to question the purity of those who were reviving the old teaching. Such methods of warfare were certain in due time to reap their own reward ; but before that time arrived the teaching and practice of Sacramental Confession was to encounter one most prolonged and violent attack.

In 1873 a petition signed by four hundred and eighty-three clergymen was presented to the Convocation of Canterbury asking the house "to consider the advisability of providing for the education, selection, and licensing of duly qualified confessors in accordance with the provisions of Canon Law." The request in itself was both prudent and reasonable, but the times were difficult and the opponents of the Movement at once seized the petition as an opportunity to denounce and condemn the practice of confession. The storm rose so high that Dr. Pusey drew up a Declaration over which "he spent more thought than over any work of the kind."¹ When it appeared on December 6, 1873, it

¹ *Life*, iv. 266.

bore the names of Pusey, Archdeacon Churton, and Archdeacon Denison of the older Tractarians, of Dr. Liddon, Dr. King (later Bishop of Lincoln), Canon Carter, W. J. Butler of Wantage (later Dean of Lincoln), R. W. Randall (later Dean of Chichester), and of Mr. Mackonochie among the later leaders. It remains a valuable statement of the teaching of the English Church upon the subject.¹ But the storm was not to be allayed by the appeal to reason and to sound learning. It burst again with renewed force in 1877 when a privately-printed manual, *The Priest in Absolution*, Part II, was issued for the use of clergymen in the exercise of this ministry. A copy of the book was obtained by the foes of the Movement, and extracts from it were read aloud in the House of Lords, when Archbishop Tait was not slow to use the occasion for denouncing the teaching he abhorred.²

The book may have been wise or unwise, but in common fairness it must be said that it was no more intended for public reading or for public circulation than are those medical works which are issued only to *bona fide*

¹ It is printed in Liddon's *Life of Dr. Pusey*, iv. 266-70.

² For a full statement as to the origin and purpose of the book see the letters of A. H. Mackonochie in the *Guardian*, July 4, 1877.

members of the medical profession. Such a consideration availed little at the time. Once again the Tractarian clergy were held up to public obloquy as men of evil minds who designed to sully the purity of English homes. The leaders of the Movement did not flinch before this outburst. Dr. Pusey for many years had been preparing an English edition of the *Manual for Confessors* by the Abbé Gaume. He now completed the work and published it just before Christmas, 1877. The work may be said to be Dr. Pusey's rather than Gaume's.¹ Its publication at that moment was the act of a brave man, and a man who was very sure of his ground. The philippics of Archbishop Tait, and of those who thought with him, might sway public opinion for the moment, but the older men of the Movement had already passed through too many storms of popular passion and misrepresentation to quail before this latest tempest. Yet while it lasted this attack upon the doctrine and practice of confession was remarkable for the violence of its language. Archbishop Tait, in the House of Lords, had described *The Priest in Absolution*, Part II, as a work which "no modest person could read without regret," and had added "that it was a

¹ Liddon's *Life of Dr. Pusey*, iv. 435 (Appendix A, by F. Madan, M.A.).

disgrace to the community that such a book should be circulated under the authority of clergymen of the Established Church";¹ lesser dignitaries followed suit, reaching their climax in Dr. Hugh McNeile, a Liverpool clergyman, and sometime Dean of Ripon, who declared: "I would make it a capital offence to administer Confession in this country. Transportation would not satisfy me, for that would merely transfer the evil from one part of the world to another. Capital punishment alone would satisfy me. Death alone would prevent the evil."² The storm died down, but it left traces of its violence. The years of Archbishop Tait's primacy were hard years for the men of the Movement, and the stress of this period, 1873 to 1880, is not forgotten by those who passed through it. The Public Worship Regulation Act had begun its work,³ and the struggle for Catholic ceremonial and Catholic doctrine were going on side by side. The authorities in Church and State seemed determined and able to crush the Movement. As a result some followers proved to be "too quick despairers." "Many seceded at once to Rome; others, restrained in several cases

¹ *Church Association Monthly Intelligencer*, August, 1877.

² Quoted (under a wrong date, for Dr. McNeile died in 1879) in Baring-Gould's *The Church Revival*, p. 302.

³ See below, pp. 195, 196.

by Newman's influence, held back for a while, but with ever-decreasing confidence in the Anglican position. Some found their way into unestablished communities, such as the Irvingite body and the Plymouth Brethren. . . . There were men who had determined to offer themselves for Holy Orders, but who . . . while remaining in the English Church, changed their scheme of life."¹ But the older leaders, *passi graviora*, remained firm and unshaken. Dr. Pusey wrote, "For ourselves I fear nothing." Dr. Liddon, at the height of his powers as preacher and teacher, refused to be despondent. "We shall live to see the drowned Egyptians on the shore even yet," he said. Dr. King, later Bishop of Lincoln, wrote, "We must turn-to again, and teach in the quiet Early Tractarian way."² One effect of the agitation of 1877 was to rally the older men to the cause. Archdeacon Denison added his name to the list of members of the devotional Society of the Holy Cross, which was specially attacked for *The Priest in Absolution*. Great names were already among that bitterly abused band—A. H. Mackonochie and Charles Fuge Lowder, Arthur Henry Stanton and George Body (later Canon of Durham), Canon

¹ G. W. E. Russell, *Saint Alban the Martyr, Holborn*, pp. 139, 140.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 138, 139.

T. T. Carter and W. H. Hutchings (later to be his biographer and Archdeacon of Cleveland), with R. J. Wilson (second Warden of Keble College, Oxford), R. Rhodes Bristow (later Canon of Southwark), and others, some of them still alive, Charles Bodington (Canon of Lichfield) and W. J. Knox-Little (Canon of Worcester), whose names are written large in the splendid record of the Church's fight with ignorance and sin.

Others were won to see the truth of this side of the Church's teaching by the bitterness and fury of the attacks made upon it. Of such was George Howard Wilkinson, the great Vicar of S. Peter's, Eaton Square (1870-83), and subsequently Bishop of Truro (1883-91), and later Bishop of St. Andrews. Wilkinson had been no follower of the Movement in his Oxford days nor in his early clerical life, but, taught by his own experience of the Church's means of grace, he ranged himself boldly on the side of the unpopular doctrines in 1874 in two sermons on *Confession* and on *Absolution*, which "were printed and published, and sold by thousands all over England."¹

Sooner or later truth will out, and the truth spiritual, moral, and historical which lay at the

¹ *Memoir of George Howard Wilkinson, D.D.*, by A. J. Mason, D.D., i. 313-20. Dr. Mason, however, antedates the storm as to *The Priest in Absolution* by three years.

root of the Oxford Movement was bound in time to pierce the fog of ignorance and passion and popular prejudice which had clouded it for so long. The publication by Dr. Newman of his *Apologia* in 1864 had done this at least for him and for the earlier story of the Movement, and probably the *Life of Charles Lowder*, published in 1881, did the same service for the second period of the Revival. The *Life* (written anonymously, but known to be by Miss Maria Trench) is one of the most inspiring religious biographies ever written ; a book which makes a mark on most men when they read it for the first time. Lowder's actual, if not his published, life marked a new feature of the Movement ; and it deserves grateful remembrance, for he began the first regular mission work in East London, where the spirit and teaching of the Oxford Movement has changed the face, as it has changed the life, of much of that vast district. In 1856 Lowder began work in S. George's-in-the-East, labours which were to result in the building up of the church and congregation of S. Peter's, London Docks, whose name is a praise in the earth.

Charles Lowder had been at Oxford (at Exeter College) through the early crisis of the Movement (1840-4), and he had taken a good degree ; but though his college was a centre of the Romanizing party, he had



*CHARLES LOWDER, FIRST VICAR OF S. PETER'S,
LONDON DOCKS.*

never lost his high courage and dauntless faith in the English Church in those dangerous days. He experienced some of the storms at S. Barnabas's, Pimlico, and then the full fury of the riots at S. George's-in-the-East. The Protestant mob which, in September, 1859, had tried to seize Charles Lowder and fling him into the dock, only twenty-one years later were transformed into the crowds of weeping men who pressed forward to see and touch the pall which lay upon his coffin as it was carried through the streets where he had been pelted and ill-treated in the early days. But Charles Lowder had never flinched, and though he died more than thirty-four years ago, the visitor who goes down to S. Peter's, London Docks, on any September 9th, will hear from the tiniest children in the streets that it is "Father Lowder's day."

Alexander Heriot Mackonochie was another of the same band. He had been Curate at Wantage, but he also had been at Oxford in the stormy days of 1845, and at Oxford he had come to know Charles Marriott. His work at S. Alban's, Holborn, has made that church a household word. His name is chiefly associated with the struggle for the revival of ceremonial, but he worked at the London Docks with Charles Lowder, and their names are naturally linked together because, in a

very real way, in days of rebuke and blasphemy, Mr. Mackonochie—standing strong and unmoved against the storms which swept lesser men away—witnessed to the old truth he had learnt from Charles Marriott and Dr. Pusey in earlier days at Oxford.

Mob violence was for a decade and more a chosen weapon of the foes of the Movement. A more subtle weapon was the power of the Press. To take up old numbers of *Punch* between 1850 and 1870, is to be amazed at the bitterness and savagery of the attacks made there week by week on the Puseyite clergy. Year after year they go on, the same misrepresentations, the same cruel taunts. Nor was this all; the powers of the Court were used against them. Queen Victoria's *Letters*, published in 1907, contain ample evidence of this. Thus in October, 1850, Lord J. Russell wrote to the Queen: "The matter to create national alarm is, as your Majesty says, the growth of Roman Catholic doctrine within the bosom of the Church. Dr. Arnold said very truly, 'I look upon a Roman Catholic as an enemy in his uniform. I look upon a Tractarian as an enemy disguised, as a spy.' It would," he added, "be very wrong to do as the Bishop of Oxford proposed, and confer the patronage of the Crown on any of the Tractarians."¹

¹ *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 4th ed. (1907), ii. 325.

So later the Queen wrote to her uncle, King Leopold, in the same year, of "the very alarming tendency of the Tractarians, which was doing immense harm," and in 1852, when Lord Derby took office, "the Queen expressed to him her sense of the importance not to have Puseyites . . . recommended for appointments in the Church as bishops or clergymen."¹ A year later, in 1853, Lord Aberdeen was Prime Minister, and to him the Prince Consort recommended "that a system of marked disfavour should be adopted and steadily persevered in towards those who promulgated 'principles likely to disturb the peace of the Church'; and he observed that even the most active, ambitious, and talented of the High Church party were not likely long to hold principles which permanently excluded them from preferment."²

A similar bitterness marked the utterances of some of the best-known bishops of the time, although in them it assumed, as became their office, a more religious form. Dr. John

¹ Prince Albert in a *Memorandum*, February 27, 1852, *op. cit.*, ii. 456.

² *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii. 169, where the Prince Consort's name is suppressed, and he is described only as "a person of considerable importance." Mr. R. G. Wilberforce (who edited the volume quoted above) discloses the Prince's identity in his later life of his father *Bishop Wilberforce* ("Leaders of the Church" Series, 1905), p. 87.

Bird Sumner was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1848 until he died in 1862. As Bishop of Chester, in a charge of 1841 he assured his clergy that the Oxford Movement was the work of Satan. "This statement," as a recent writer says, "took the wind out of every one else's sails, but his brother bishops said what they could¹." Dr. Daniel Wilson (1778–1858), the famous Bishop of Calcutta, was enthusiastic over Dr. Sumner's effort. "How could you omit mentioning," he wrote, "the glorious Charge of the Bishop of Chester . . . Oh, how the dear bishop grasps the traditionist question, and crushes the serpent's head! I am now quite ashamed of my poor Ordination sermon. I could scarcely go on with reading the Charge for joy and gratitude. It is a noble testimony²." Yet the Bishop of Calcutta had no cause to lament the weakness of his own language, for in the sermon of which he felt ashamed, he had been able to ascribe the Movement to the "devices of the great spiritual adversary³," while a little earlier

¹ Algernon Cecil, *Six Oxford Thinkers* (1909), p. 57. The reference is to *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester at the Visitation in June and September, 1841*, p. 19. See also Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 251.

² *Life of the Right Rev. Daniel Wilson, D.D.* (2 vols., 1860), ii. 189.

³ Bricknell, *The Judgment of the Bishops upon Tractarian Theology*, pp. 40, 41, note 6.

he could write of its teaching as a "corrupt and cancerous mass"¹; and in 1842, in his first Charge as Metropolitan, he dwelt upon the likeness of the Tractarians to the Jesuits, "the calmness of their manner, and the tone of piety which runs through their writings," he observed, "form a further part of their system, as they did that of the Jesuits before them"². Such were the weighty and well-considered words of bishops who both, in their time, held Metropolitan sees. Their example has been followed down to our own day, though not of late by Evangelicals, but rather by those whom Dr. Sumner and Dr. Daniel Wilson would have described as Neologians.³

¹ *Bishop Wilson's Journal Letters* (1863), p. 288. The latter is dated December 29, 1838.

² *Life*, ii. 213, 214.

³ Few points in the history of English ecclesiastical controversy have been more noteworthy than the extreme bitterness with which the "Liberal" school has attacked the principles of the Oxford Movement in the present century. One example out of many may be seen in a book published in 1913, *The Development of English Theology, 1800-60*, by Canon V. F. Storr. The author, in chap. iv, having criticized the Movement with some bitterness from his own point of view, concludes: "The more the mind of CHRIST is studied, the less will Anglo-Catholicism prove compatible with it" (p. 272). Dr. J. B. Sumner or Dr. Daniel Wilson could hardly have said more.

With the mob, the Press, the Court, and most bishops of that day against them, with their avowed opponents victorious in Oxford itself, the wonder is that the Oxford Movement did not die, as other movements, before and since, have died. The answer of Gamaliel is surely the explanation of the wonder: "If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."¹ Slowly, but surely, men came to see the living power which was at work.

The spiritual power as well as the moral and intellectual of the leaders of the Movement began at last to tell. Mr. Keble lived and worked and wrote and prayed till in 1866 he went to his reward.

Mr. Keble had left Oxford in 1823; he never resided regularly in Oriel after that year. In 1836 he became Vicar of Hursley, near Winchester, and there he remained until his death, thirty years later.² Yet quiet, buried as he seemed, Mr. Keble was, according to Mr. Newman (and Dean Church, for himself, endorses the statement³), "the true and primary author of the Oxford Movement." "The

¹ Acts v. 38, 39.

² March 29, 1866.

³ Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 31.

true and primary author," writes Mr. Newman, "as is usual with great motive powers, was out of sight. . . . Need I say that I am speaking of John Keble?"¹ His earlier years, his wonderful distinctions, his beautiful humility have already been mentioned. He bore his full share of the burden of the years from 1833 to 1845, and when the crises came, in 1845 and in 1851, he never lost heart nor head. Suspected, distrusted, by the men in office—for he never became even an Honorary Canon of Winchester or a Rural Dean²—Mr. Keble remained the guiding power of the great Movement he had done so much to begin. Dean Church said of him, that he "was a man who, without a particle of the religious cant of any school, without any self-consciousness or pretension or unnatural strain, literally passed his days under the quick and pervading influence . . . of the will and presence of God."³ "To the last" he kept "a kind of youthful freshness, as if he had never yet realized that he was not a boy . . . and he was the most refined and courteous of gentlemen, and in the

¹ *Apologia*, p. 75.

² The only honour of the sort conferred on him was a Honorary Canonry of Cumbrae, in Scotland, in 1854. He had been offered a colonial archdeaconry in 1824; but had refused it, as his father needed his help in England.

³ Church, *Occasional Papers*, ii. 296.

midst of the fierce party battles of his day . . . always a considerate and courteous opponent.”¹ From the day that Mr. Keble set the trumpet to his lips in July, 1833, till the day of his death, in March, 1866, that trumpet gave no uncertain sound. And though mere diocesan or ecclesiastical honours were not his, yet here has arisen a memorial, in mere size as great as to any man in England—the great college at Oxford which bears his name. Even greater is the memorial which every parish in England now bears to him in its revived energies and its orderly services, for these are some of the fruits of the seed sown in 1833.

With the name of Mr. Keble is inseparably linked that of his closest friend Edward Bouverie Pusey. Dr. Pusey lived on till September, 1882. He was at work almost to the very end. On him more than on any other of the leaders fell the heat of the day. Newman left in 1845, Charles Marriott died in 1858, Mr. Keble in 1866; alone of the original leaders, Dr. Pusey remained. No man was for so long more bitterly abused, no man more cruelly attacked. The most absurd stories were told of him—that he sacrificed a lamb every Friday, and many follies of the sort. He bore the misrepresentations and the

¹ Church, *Occasional Papers*, ii. 299.

popular odium as few men could have done. They never soured him or made him bitter. He remained a very profound student and yet a leader of men, who walked humbly with his God. For many years he celebrated Holy Communion every day, and that was witnessed to in his life and conversation.¹ Ascetic he certainly was; hard and unloving he certainly was not. "I love the Evangelicals," he said, "because they love our LORD," and he strove hard to re-unite the separated portions of the Holy Catholic Church. His funeral in 1882 was long remembered in Oxford,² among those who assembled to do him honour was the Prime Minister of England, William Ewart Gladstone. One aspect of his work needs special notice. To Dr. Pusey is due the revival of the monastic life, especially in the nineteenth century. The great sisterhoods which have spread far beyond England to America, South Africa, Australia, and India—Wantage, Clewer, All Saints', East

¹ "At the age of sixty it was his habit, when at Christ Church, to celebrate the Holy Eucharist every day, generally at four o'clock in the morning. He had received special permission from Bishop Wilberforce to do so. . . . In later years he celebrated in this manner only on Sundays and Saints' Days as a rule."—*Spiritual Letters of Dr. Pusey* (1898). Preface, p. xii.

² For a vivid memory of it see Dr. H. S. Holland in *A Bundle of Memories*, pp. 99-100.

Grinstead, to say nothing of the Society of S. John the Evangelist, Cowley, really practically began with the community founded by Dr. Pusey on March 26, 1845, at Park Village, Regent's Park.¹ The first step in that work for which so many Englishmen have cause to bless God was due, under Him, to Dr. Pusey, for he writes to Mr. Newman, then still Vicar of S. Mary's, on June 5, 1841: "A young lady is purposing to-day to take a vow of holy celibacy. . . . She hopes to receive the Holy Communion" at S. Mary's "to-day as . . . being part of her self-devotion. . . . You will know her by her being dressed in white with an ivory cross."² That lady, Miss Marian Rebecca Hughes, the first of English sisters in the nineteenth century, survived until 1912, very aged but most active, and devoted to the end to the leaders of the Oxford Movement. She was the venerable Mother Superior of the Convent of the Holy Trinity at Oxford.

Of the great names of the later period the greatest is that of Henry Parry Liddon. Three months after Newman had left Oxford for good, Henry Parry Liddon came up from King's College School, London. He was elected to a Studentship at Christ Church,

¹ *Life of Dr. Pusey*, iii. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.



DR. LIDDON.

which he held until his death. In 1852 he was ordained to a curacy at Wantage. In 1854 he began his wonderful work as Vice-Principal at Cuddesdon. Early in the 'sixties Oxford discovered that it possessed a preacher as great as any whose voices had rung within its walls. Not merely a preacher, but a thinker and a scholar, and above all a man whose life was consumed with a burning love for God. The spiritual son, first of Dr. Pusey, then of Mr. Keble, Liddon, by his glowing words and beautiful life, carried the message of the Oxford Movement into undreamt-of places. Cabinet Ministers came to listen to him when he preached in London, in the Lent of 1870; his Bampton Lectures on the Divinity of our LORD in 1866 were even more famous than those of J. B. Mozley in 1865; in 1870 Mr. Gladstone made him Canon of S. Paul's. There for twenty years he taught the Church's Faith and became, what Lord Acton called him in 1885, "the greatest power in the conflict with sin, and in turning the souls of men to God, that the nation now possesses."¹ He endeavoured to make S. Paul's Cathedral a model of what a cathedral should be. In 1871, to his unspeakable delight, Mr. Church, the hero of 1845, long hidden in a Somersetshire

¹ *Letters of Lord Acton* (1904), p. 202.

rectory, was called, sorely against his will, to become Dean.

S. Paul's, as it is to-day, is largely the work of those two men, Dr. Liddon and Dean Church. They were both men of the Oxford Movement. Dr. Liddon's fame became world-wide. In England successive Prime Ministers, Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone, were among his close friends, yet he remained the simple, holy, utterly unselfish man of God—the type of man he had learnt to be from the older Tractarians. In Oxford his influence was, in his day, equal to that wielded by Mr. Newman.¹ Men hung upon his words, and probably no teacher, not even Dr. Pusey himself, brought so many out “of darkness into light, from the power of Satan unto God.”

The work of Dean Church was in the same spirit and for the same end. He remained a devoted Tractarian. A brilliant writer, a deep thinker, and a great preacher, he was, most of all, a man of enormous spiritual power. It was the true note of the Oxford Movement from the first, and it burnt bright in those two leaders—Dean Church and Dr. Liddon. Thus they lived and worked and preached.

¹ See a striking letter of Kegan Paul : Johnston, *Life of Dr. Liddon*, p. 80.

“Liddon’s voice, ringing out like a trumpet, telling of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come ; preaching ever and always, with personal passion of belief, JESUS CHRIST and Him crucified¹” : and Dean Church bearing that same high witness, not only in the pulpit, but in the field of literature and daily life. To Dean Church apply his own words on his gallant uncle, Sir Richard Church ; in him men “had among them an example of English principle, English truth, English high-souled disinterestedness, and that noble English faith which, in a great cause, would rather hope in vain than not hope at all.”² Their lives ended close together : Dr. Liddon died on September 9, 1890, and the Dean on December 9 of the same year. Dr. Liddon was succeeded by his friend Canon Newbolt ; Dean Church by his fellow worker Dean Gregory, who held the post until 1911. Dean Gregory was the last survivor of the first Tractarians, and his long, active, and strenuous life was a signal witness to men of later days of the power of the Oxford Movement. Reading the *Tracts for the Times* as they were being published

¹ Dr. H. S. Holland, in *Life of Dean Church*, p. 217.

² Church, *Occasional Papers*, ii. p. 333. A valuable appreciation of Dean Church was published by the Bishop of Winchester in the *Treasury* for May, 1915.

Gregory had become a Churchman,¹ and a Churchman of so real a sort that he threw up what promised to be a lucrative business career to go to Oxford to prepare for Holy Orders. His long life from 1819 to 1911 covered the whole period of the Movement, for he entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1840; he was present at Mr. Newman's last Anglican sermon at Littlemore, on September 27, 1843;² he graduated B.A. and was ordained as curate to Thomas Keble later in the same year (1843), and in that curacy Isaac Williams was his colleague. In 1868 he became Canon of S. Paul's, and Dean in 1890, and until the day of his death he remained supremely loyal to the truths he had learned from the leaders of the Movement. He became a sort of embodiment of their teaching, and in his later years "his face, now pale and set in a wealth of long white hair, seemed," so a Roman Catholic said to the editor of the Dean's biography, "to set the whole tone to the cathedral services, and teach all present to pray."³ Dr. Gregory died at the Deanery of S. Paul's in August, 1911, having resigned his office three months before.

¹ See his *Autobiography*, ed. by Archdeacon Hutton (1912), p. 5.

² See above, pp. 88-90.

³ *Autobiography*, p. 264



ARTHUR HENRY STANTON.

Dean Gregory survived to represent to the twentieth century the first generation of the men of the Movement, but before his long life ended men of the second generation and of a later type were already growing old. Of these, Arthur Henry Stanton and Robert William Radclyffe Dolling were the most splendid and shining examples. They were in some ways in strong contrast to the first followers—they had little of the grave reserve which marked the older Tractarians, they were wholly out of sympathy with Conservative politics; but they abounded in love for souls, their devotion was infectious, and their missionary zeal knew no limits. For fifty years Mr. Stanton was a curate at S. Alban's, Holborn, and when death ended his work there his spiritual eye was not dim nor was his amazing spiritual force abated. In the last year of his life Stanton's preaching was as remarkable and as compelling as in the early days of his priesthood, more than forty years before. The work of his ministry of fifty years was in part attested by the great concourse which followed his coffin through the streets of London on April 1, 1913. Dolling had died in 1902, at the age of fifty-one, broken down with a strenuous life of toil; but S. Agatha's, Landport, remains to witness to his splendid fight with sin in the slums

of Portsmouth ; and his name has become almost a symbol of that fervent devotion and all-embracing charity which flung aside much that was conventional in its eagerness to win men to God.

Stanton had been bitterly scarred by the fighting of the 'sixties and the 'seventies, when he had been inhibited from preaching in one diocese after another, while Dolling in later years had his share of such troubles. The second generation, like its forerunner, had to fight a hard fight. With this generation the story of the Movement ceases to centre in great names, and becomes linked rather with famous churches—S. Alban's, Holborn ; All Saints', Margaret Street ; S. Paul's and S. Barnabas's, Knightsbridge ; S. Peter's, London Docks ; S. John's, Kennington ; these, among many others, carried on the story for London ; while in the rest of England the Brighton churches (S. Paul's, S. Bartholomew's, and later the Church of the Annunciation) ; All Saints', Clifton ; S. Peter's, Plymouth ; Christ Church, St. Leonards ; S. Barnabas's, Oxford ; Wantage, Clewer, Leeds, Scarborough, Cowley, and, in later days, Mirfield—to name only a few—have been as beacon-lights.

Gradually the bishops caught the flame. Samuel Wilberforce, the famous bishop, first of Oxford (1845-69), and then of Winchester

(1869-73), was the most signal example, though he carefully abstained from identifying himself with the Tractarians as a party, "and not only spoke language, but did acts, which marked his strong disapproval of them. But (though, perhaps, he would himself have denied it) his episcopal character was surely formed in the Oxford school."¹ The early sisterhoods (S. Mary's, Wantage; the Society of S. John the Baptist, Clewer; the sisterhoods of the Holy Trinity and of S. Thomas the Martyr, at Oxford) found a safe shelter in his diocese; and, although he was by no means the first English bishop to found a theological college, yet his foundation of Cuddesdon set a model for all such colleges in the future.

At Cuddesdon, and later as Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology at Oxford, Edward King, the third principal, became one of the most potent religious forces in England. Known to later generations as Bishop of Lincoln (he held that see from 1885 until his death in 1910), Dr. King occupied a position few English clergymen have attained. His influence on all who came into contact with him was enormous: "a rare distinction was the mark of his face, so of his person and his life. Spiritually he was a saint, simple,

¹ Dr. Overton, *The Anglican Revival*, p. 164.

sane, sensible, strong, and a saint who made saintliness infinitely attractive ; with all the Tractarians' seriousness and solemnity, and with a French capacity for making it seem not impossible to be good." ¹ His prosecution by the Church Association in 1888 for alleged illegalities in ceremonial led to the practical victory of the followers of the Movement in the struggle over ceremonial. The life and episcopate of Dr. King were a landmark in the story of the Revival, as they were a record for which the English Church has good cause to thank God and take courage.

The story of the Movement is in the hands of men now happily alive, and it has passed more and more into the general record of the life of the English Church, which it has done so much to leaven and to quicken into life. It has proved its power to meet the difficulties of each time as they arrive, and though its work is by no means ended nor its course run it would seem that it has overcome much of the bitter prejudice which hindered it in earlier years. The words and deeds of those who attacked the Movement in older days seem almost grotesque now ; its opponents to-day use less brutal and clumsy weapons, though not always less cruel ones. But if

¹ F. E. Brightman, *Dictionary of English Church History*, s.v. King, Edward.



EDWARD KING, 61ST BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

it has much suspicion still to encounter, much misunderstanding and even hatred to face, it is able still to kindle the enthusiastic love and devotion of men and women in every rank of life.

Scholars and men of learning, great preachers and students are among its followers now as at the first; but to them are added multitudes who lay no claim to such titles, working men and working women whose lives are lighted and whose work is dignified by that faith in the Eternal SON of GOD and in His Holy Catholic Church which has come to them through the prayers and labours of the men of the Oxford Movement.

CHAPTER VI

THE REVIVAL OF CEREMONIAL

A DIRECT result of the Movement of 1833 was the revival of ceremonial in public worship. In the popular mind the second generation of the men of the Movement came to be associated with this greater care for the accessories of worship, and were called, inaccurately, "Ritualists"; while "Ritualism" during the 'seventies and 'eighties of the last century was the enemy which the foes of the Movement strove to crush. The words "Ritualist" and "Ritualism" were used incorrectly to describe this side of the revival, for "a rite is a service" (i.e., an order of prayers, psalms, and lessons); while the "action accompanying it is a ceremony";¹ but the word "Ritualism" was a convenient label, and it stuck.

The revival of ceremonial, though it was a direct result of the Oxford Movement, was not a result at which its original leaders aimed. It was a very natural, although an un-

¹ Procter and Frere, *New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, ed. 1902, p. 17, note 1.

designed, consequence of the revived teaching. The ceremonial of the English Church had undergone strange variations during the three centuries preceding the Oxford Movement. In 1552 the Reformers of the reign of Edward VI had shorn the services as bare as they could. The old ceremonial had been restored by Queen Mary. The Ornaments Rubric in 1559 had retained the ceremonial of Edward VI's First Prayer Book, but in practice that direction would seem to have been seldom obeyed, though there was a real ceremonial revival under Bishop Andrewes and Archbishop Laud. The triumph of the Puritans from 1642 to 1660 had made short work of this as well as of such older observances as still remained. In 1662 the Ornaments Rubric was retained, but the churches had been sacked, and only in a few of the cathedrals was anything of the old stateliness to be seen.¹

¹ An interesting proof of the impression produced by a cathedral service in the eighteenth century is found in the *Journal of Bishop Robert Forbes*, a keen Jacobite and Nonjuror who visited England with his wife in 1764. On September 27th they were at York, and viewed the Minster. "Just as we were walking out of the Minster, we spied a clergyman in his surplice going to read prayers; upon which Dr. Burton asked if we would stay 'to hear the music.' Agreed accordingly, and after standing to hear the chanting of the *Gloria Patri* and of the 95th Psalm, I proposed going up to the Organ Loft,

At Durham copes were worn regularly at the altar until the summer of 1760, in rare country parish churches the alb or "some distinctive vestment" was to be found in use even twenty years later, while incense is said to have been used at Ely Cathedral on the greater festivals until about the same date. By the year 1800 all these embers had been quenched.¹ The ornaments of ministers at that date were probably the same everywhere in England. Bishops wore cassock, bands, rochet, black chimere, and black silk scarf (the dress known irreverently as "the magpie") with a white horsehair wig. Some

where we stood and joined in the chanting of the Psalms, the *Te Deum*, and the *Benedictus*, and then came off. The officiating clergyman had a most musical voice in reading, and the other clergymen and the Singing Boys had charming harmonious voices in carrying on the music. I could well see Mrs. Forbes to be in no small transport, and when we were going out of the church I asked her how she liked it? 'Why,' said she, 'I am not upon earth just now. I am in a Degree of Heaven! I am not myself. I wish I may be myself to-day.'"—*Journals, etc., of Bishop R. Forbes*, ed. J. B. Craven (1886), pp. 31, 32.

¹ For the use of the copes at Durham, see M. Walcott *Traditions and Customs of English Cathedrals*, ed. 2 (1872), p. 47; for incense at Ely, *ibid.*, p. 160. For the use of the alb and "a distinctive vestment," see Dr. J. Wickham Legg, *English Church Life, etc.*, pp. 351-73. See also *Hierurgia Anglicana*, 3 vol. ed., 1902-4.

bishops still used ceremonial gloves¹ with their episcopal habit, a genuine relic of mediaeval days.² The parish priest, from 1800 onwards, would wear a full surplice³ and bands,

¹ The first bishop to give up the use of the episcopal wig is said to have been Dr. Richard Bagot, of Oxford, who ceased to wear it in 1830 (after the death of George IV). The last English diocesan who wore his wig was Lord George Murray (Bishop of Sodor and Man, 1814-27, Bishop of Rochester, 1827 until his death in 1860), who wore it to the end. Archbishop Sumner also wore his wig until 1860.

The episcopal wig of Dr. Musgrave (Bishop of Hereford, 1837-47, Archbishop of York, 1847-60), together with two pairs of his episcopal gloves of white kid, one pair elaborately fringed with silver, the other with purple and gold, was preserved in his family until 1912, when these ornaments were presented by them to the Archbishop of York to be preserved at Bishopthorpe. Dr. Musgrave, who was sternly opposed to the Oxford Movement, died in 1860.

² No bishop wore a hood with his black chimere until Bishop Samuel Wilberforce began the practice in the middle of the nineteenth century.

³ The Episcopalian clergy in Scotland during the eighteenth century used the black gown as "the vesture for all ministrations" until the Synod of Aberdeen, in 1811, recommended the cautious introduction of the surplice. Dr. William Skinner (1778-1857), Bishop of Aberdeen, was said to be the first to re-introduce the surplice into the north in 1801. F. C. Eeles, *Traditional Ceremonial and Customs connected with the Scottish Liturgy*, Alcuin Club Collections (1910), pp. 18-23; and *Journals, etc., of Bishop Robert Forbes*, p. 173 note.

In the Channel Islands the use of the surplice was also

and, if he were a graduate, a hood ; if he were a graduate in divinity he would add to this dress a cassock and a scarf ; if chaplain to a nobleman a scarf, but, I believe, no cassock. Copes were worn at coronations by the officiating prelates. Such were the ornaments of the minister in 1833. The ornaments of the churches were more varied, candlesticks and pictures above the altar were by no means rare in college chapels, though altar-crosses were almost unknown ; the cross in Bishop Butler's chapel at Bristol led to the accusation that he was a papist.¹

The first dawn of the ceremonial revival preceded the Oxford Movement by ten years. Mr. Ambrose March Phillipps (later Mr. A. Phillipps De Lisle), son of a Leicestershire squire, a boy of strong religious feelings, after a visit to France in 1823, persuaded the Vicar of Shepshed, a church adjoining his father's park, to begin to use a cope, and he further presented to Shepshed Church a new altar of a French pattern with an altar-cross of black wood. This altar-

rare. It was regarded, Dr. Pusey wrote in September, 1837, as "a badge of Papistrie," and was used in Guernsey only "in the two English Churches" (*Life*, ii. 24).

¹ See Dr. J. Wickham Legg, *English Church Life*, etc. p. 146.

cross the old vicar, a Mr. W. Allsop, placed "with much ceremony" on the altar of the church. It was removed, however, after a few weeks, by order of the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Herbert Marsh), stirred up by some zealous Protestants of the neighbourhood.¹

The Oxford Movement from 1833 to 1845 had its centre in Oxford, and in Oxford during those years it revolved round Mr. Newman. Newman took little interest in ceremonial. At S. Mary's, while he was vicar, he began daily Morning Prayer (partly owing to Isaac Williams²) in June, 1834. He began an early Eucharist on Sundays in April 1837 (he had been anxious to begin it so early as 1833).³ Altar-lights were used,⁴ and the mixed chalice,⁵

¹ *Life of A. P. De Lisle*, ed. E. S. Purcell, i. 7. Mr. Purcell is, however, quite incorrect in stating that "it was the first cross planted on a Communion Table in the Established Church since the Reformation."

² I. Williams, *Autobiography*, 3rd ed., p. 76. J. H. Newman, *Letters and Correspondence*, ii. 50-3.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 248, 250.

⁴ The authority for this is to be found in correspondence of S. F. Wood, now in the possession of his nephew Viscount Halifax.

⁵ The late Mr. Cowley Powles, Prebendary of Chichester (died 1901), told the present writer that this was begun because, weakened by their stern fasting in Lent, some Tractarians found themselves almost overpowered by the smell of the chalice. It was the sort of explanation which might easily have been current at the time.

but in celebrating Mr. Newman seems always to have taken the north end, and not the eastward position.¹

One peculiarity about the S. Mary's service was that, being short-sighted, Newman used to use a small Prayer Book instead of the large folio on the reading-desk, a practice followed by Isaac Williams and by Mr. Keble, and imitated later by young admirers. "You that read in church with a little book" was a very early description given of the Tractarians in allusion to this practice.² Further, following a direction in Sparrow's *Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer*, the daily office on weekdays, both at S. Mary's and later at Littlemore, was said by the

¹ See the classical passage in Dean Burgon's *Lives of Twelve Good Men*. "He (Mr. Newman) used to stand and do exactly as you do. . . . Yes, it was *his* mother as gave *my* mother her six silver spoons."—Ed. 1891, p. 206, note 8. This is confirmed by an unprinted letter of Newman's to Dr. Bloxam, October 7, 1882: "I cannot affirm positively, and it would be rash to rely on my memory: but my impression is that I always stood on the north side of the altar from the beginning to the end of the service."—Bloxam MSS., *Cardinal Newman*, iii. 211. By "north side" the cardinal clearly means here what is technically "the north end." Dr. Pusey wrote in 1851: "Dear Newman consecrated to the last of his Consecrations at the north end of the altar" (*Life*, iv. 211).

² I. Williams, *Autobiography*, pp. 77, 78.



DR. J. R. BLOXAM.

officiant kneeling on the altar-step, facing east¹.

These were small matters, but greater were to come, and the first step in the further revival of ceremonial was due to one whose name figures not at all in the general literature of the Movement, Dr. John Rouse Bloxam, Fellow of Magdalen. Dr. Bloxam returned to reside in Oxford in 1836 as Fellow of Magdalen, and at Magdalen he lived until 1863, when he accepted the college living of Beeding, in Sussex, where he died in 1891 at the age of 84.² Dr. Bloxam

¹ This eastward position seems to have been very generally adopted at first when the daily service was restored. See in R. H. Froude's *Remains*, i. 390, his letter of January, 1835: "I am sure Daily Service is a great point, so is kneeling with your back to the people, which, by the by, seems striking all apostolicals [i.e., followers of the Movement] at once. I was very strongly impressed about it this time last year at Caraccas," and more to the same effect. Pusey defended the practice to the Bishop of Oxford in September, 1837, *Life*, ii. 15. Dr. Bloxam in his MSS. Collections describes the consecration of Littlemore chapel by Dr. Bagot, Bishop of Oxford, on September 22, 1836: "I. Williams," he says, "read the prayers kneeling on the step of the altar pace and turning to the east," i. 167. Newman felt strongly as to the value of this practice. *Letters and Correspondence*, ii. 50 (a letter of June 21, 1834).

² A Life of Dr. Bloxam would be an interesting addition to the history of the period. There is an excellent memoir of him by Dr. Macray in his *Register*

was, it should be added, a very careful and learned antiquary, an enthusiastic ecclesiologist, an early worker for reunion with the Roman See, and a devoted friend of Dr. Newman. He was one of the two men (H. W. Wilberforce was the other) whom Newman pressed to follow him to Rome. In this case he was unsuccessful, for Dr. Bloxam died as he had lived, a convinced English Churchman.

From 1837 to 1840 Bloxam was one of Newman's curates, and had charge of the hamlet of Littlemore, where a new chapel had been built by Newman the year before. The chapel at Littlemore aroused the watchfulness of Oxford Protestants, in particular that of a Mr. (later Dr.) Peter Maurice, a chaplain of New College, whose hatred of popery, as revealed in his publications, suggests that on that subject he "laboured under an insanity of mind." In 1833 he printed a tract on *Popery in Oxford*, directed against the Roman Catholic mission there, but the Oxford Movement afforded a nearer object for attack. In 1837 Mr. Maurice visited

of Magdalen College, Oxford, N.S., vi. 103-17, an account in the *D.N.B.*, vol. xxii, pp. 224-5, and some interesting letters to him in the *Life and Letters of R. W. Sibthorp* (1880).

the new church at Littlemore, and he thus described his impressions :

“I felt an indescribable horror stealing over me, as I carried my eye towards the eastern wall of the building, and beheld a plain naked cross, either of stone, or a good imitation of it, rising up and projecting out of the wall, from the centre of the table of communion, and forming the fulness of one of those arches which are so ornamentally arranged in sevenfold perfection within the rails. There, adjoining the gates of the said railed fence, was the hassock, upon which, not long before, a minister of the Reformed and Protestant Church of England had been kneeling. I could not divest my mind of that fond delusion of the man of sin, who openly bows down before the image of the Cross, and worships the painted wood or cold stone. May my natural eye never fall upon such a degrading spectacle.”¹

At Littlemore Bloxam began the ceremonial revival which later became a feature of the Movement, and Lord Blachford, in a letter to Dr. Bloxam fifty years later, wrote of him

¹ *The Popery of Oxford*. By Peter Maurice, B.D., p. 53, 2nd ed., 1837. The whole pamphlet is curious and in its way interesting. See on this, *Life of Dr. Pusey*, ii. 12, 13.

with perfect accuracy as "The father or grandfather of all ritualistics."¹

Littlemore chapel, as Mr. Peter Maurice observed, was adorned with a stone cross behind the altar. Bloxam in 1837 added copies made in gilded wood of the candlesticks on the altar at Magdalen, and two standard candlesticks. To complete the adornment of the altar he had a Bible bound in crimson in two volumes to stand on the altar (an arrangement imitated from the Caroline practice which lasted until a recent date in the Cathedral at Christ Church), and he also introduced a wooden alms-dish. These, with a credence table and a small Litany desk, completed the list of his ornaments. This arrangement of the altar at Littlemore with books and candlesticks was much admired, and it was copied exactly by Frederick Oakeley at the Margaret Chapel in London in 1839.²

But Bloxam went to further lengths, and these produced disturbance. He had made a stole of black silk, and this he wore over his

¹ The letter is among Dr. Bloxam's MSS. at Magdalen College, Oxford (*Cardinal Newman*, i. 137). It is dated November, 1884.

² See a letter from Oakeley to Bloxam, October 1, 1839, Bloxam MSS. (*Cardinal Newman*, i. 186). The Margaret Chapel candlesticks are preserved at Pusey House, Oxford.

surplice at Littlemore and sometimes in chapel at Magdalen. His brother Fellow, William Palmer, imitated him and wore in chapel at Magdalen a black stole, which, because he was only a deacon, he wore across his left shoulder.¹ So long as these excesses were confined to two Fellows in one college chapel, no one was greatly the worse, though such a careful watchman as Peter Maurice, in the second and later editions of his *Popery of Oxford*, at once marked and denounced them. Worse, however, was to come. Charles Seager,² a learned Orientalist, was at this time an assistant lecturer in Hebrew to Dr. Pusey, and an ardent Tractarian. He also had a black stole made, but with a small cross embroidered at each end, and this stole he wore when he assisted in the services at S. Thomas's, Oxford. Mr. Seager's stole aroused excitement. Rumour had it that a "peculiar kind of cross" was being added to the surplice, and Mr. Townsend, a fanatical

¹ This revival of the stole by Dr. Bloxam was deemed of sufficient importance to be noticed in the *Quarterly Review* in 1839 (vol. cxxvi, p. 547). Mr. W. Palmer defended his wearing of a stole in the *British Magazine* for October, 1839, in a letter signed "A Deacon." See also his brother, Lord Selborne, *Memorials*, 1896, i. 260.

² Charles Seager (1808-78) became a Roman Catholic in 1843.

Canon of Durham, delivered in this same year (1837) a charge to the clergy of his peculiar of Allerton upon the subject. Dr. Pusey was asked for explanations. He wrote to the Bishop of Oxford (September 26, 1837): "The additional cross was worn by one individual only: this was no device of his own, but according to one interpretation . . . of the rubric about the Ornaments of the Church and the Ministers being the same as in the second year of Edward VI. . . I saw the scarf in question: it was a very narrow one, about three inches, I think, with two very unpretending crosses at the two ends, and was meant to be the same as that prescribed in Edward VI's time, and, as some think, enjoined still"; he "did not think it worth while to advise the young clergyman who wore the one in question against it, further than giving him the general advice not to let his attention be distracted by these things from others of more moment. A rigid adherence to the rubric cannot, in its own nature, lead to extravagance, and it seemed a very safe way for the exuberance of youth to vent itself in." Dr. Pusey added that two other persons "wore the same scarf without the crosses, thinking it safer. That was," he said, "in Magdalen College Chapel."¹ But

¹ *Life of Dr. Pusey*, ii. 15, 16.

Mr. Seager's black stole was not to pass so lightly. In the next year, 1838, the Bishop of Oxford delivered a famous charge. In it he said: "I am given to understand that an injudicious attempt was made, in one instance, to adopt some forgotten portion of the ancient clerical dress; but I believe it was speedily abandoned, and I do not think it likely we shall hear of a repetition of this or of similar indiscretions."¹ An Irish bishop a little later (1842) dealt with the matter more sternly: "I am happy to believe," said Dr. O'Brien, Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin, "that in these dioceses there is no trace of such mischievous fopperies."²

Bishop Bagot's hopes were not justified even at that time, for Mr. Christopher Wordsworth states that in 1838 stoles could be bought at one shop in England—French's at Leicester.³

The ceremonial revival met with little direct encouragement from the leaders of the Movement. Hurrell Froude, who would probably have sympathized with it, had died in 1836.

¹ Bricknell, *The Judgment of the Bishops upon Tractarian Theology* (1845), p. 616.

² Ibid., pp. 623-4.

³ C. Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 531. Leicester was the nearest large town to Rugby, Dr. Bloxam's home; and here, again, his influence is, no doubt, to be seen.

He had designed an altar for his father's church at Dartington, which was put in its place after his death.¹ Newman in 1837 wrote to his friend Bowden that a report had been circulated that in Littlemore chapel lights were found burning, and that it was said that they burnt night and day ; while a Fellow of Oriel had been told at Ilfracombe that he (Newman) wore on his surplice "a rich illuminated cross."² He wrote of such reports as mere *canards*. Dr. Pusey dealt with the desire to revive ceremonial more drastically in 1839. Some of the younger men, particularly at Cambridge, were anxious to push on ; one young man had hung his room with black velvet during Lent ; Dr. Pusey sternly discouraged such exhibitions.³ He wrote that he "should deprecate seeking to restore the richer style of vestments used in Edward VI's reign," because "our own plain dresses are more in keeping with the state of our Church, which is one of humiliation . . . these are not holiday times." Before restoring vest-

¹ J. H. Newman, *Letters and Correspondence*, ii. 218.

² *Ibid.*, p. 244. This was a reflexion of Mr. Seager's stole.

³ "I know not whence your friend got his notion of black velvet hangings for his own room. I cannot think any of our forefathers would so have ornamented his room, while so many of the churches of our land are so bare."—*Life of Dr. Pusey*, ii. 143.

ments "it were far better to begin with painted windows, rich altar-cloths, and communion plate."¹

Notwithstanding these discouragements, the revival proceeded.² Some idea of its supposed programme can be gathered from *A Paper Lantern for Puseyites*, a slight brochure (in verse), published (second edition) in 1843.³ The hero, the Rev. Hilary Oriel, writes an account to his friend Clement Loyola of his proposed alterations in his church. He cannot erase the old-fashioned tables of the Commandments, etc., but he will set up new ones, in type copied from old missals :

"Painted quite in a blaze with gold, scarlet, and blue,
And with roses and flourishes properly decked,
They will have a most brilliant and striking effect."

He must have lights for the altar, and of these he intends to have thirteen. The screen is to

¹ *Life of Dr. Pusey*, ii. 142-5.

² The *English Churchman* (then a Tractarian paper) in 1843 "spoke of the Maniple 'as something which we once possessed, and which, with all its accompanying ancient and sacred vestments, English priests may yet claim to wear,' . . . and made mention of 'Chasubles' and 'Copes' and 'Surplices close in front,' and of a 'corporal cloth of delicate material and marked with the five crosses.'"—Bricknell, *op. cit.*, p. 616, note 3.

³ By "Will o' the Wisp." Published by Smith, Elder & Co., London, at 1s. 6d. It is a small 8vo in stiff covers, 40 pp.

be redecorated and the saints set up again. The pulpit is specially offensive :

“The cushions and cloths
Were of common blue serge, full of nothing but moths.
I declared I would have (though they asked what I meant)
Crimson velvet for Easter and black cloth for Lent.”

Then

“The surplice is covered with stains old and recent,
And I’m sure that it looks neither comely nor decent.
A new one of lawn shall be made at my charge,
The skirts shall be full and the sleeves shall be large :
This at least I will have. I may shortly, I hope,
Bear a cross on my scarf and most surely a cope.”¹

This sketch was not entirely a caricature. A friend of Dr. Bloxam and his brother Fellow at Magdalen was Bernard Smith, who was also Rector of Leadenham in Lincolnshire. In 1842 he had in use at Leadenham Church a processional crucifix, an altar-cross and lights, he had caused a stone altar to be made (from a tomb), and the roof of the sanctuary to be painted blue with gold stars. Mr. Bernard Smith went another step towards the revival of the Eucharistic vestments by wearing a maniple.² These ornaments would seem to

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 6–9.

² The evidence for these ornaments at Leadenham is a sketch in possession of the Rev. E. Hermitage Day, D.D., and a letter of B. Smith.—*Life of A. P. De Lisle*, i. 252–3.

Mr. Bernard Smith resigned his benefice and was received

have been begun in 1841. Another centre of the revival was the proprietary chapel of S. James, Ryde, held at this time by R. W. Sibthorp, also a Fellow of Magdalen, and a life-long friend of Dr. Bloxam.¹ Amongst other usages there the choir were vested in surplices and cassocks as early as 1839—the first instance of such a use in what was to all intents a parish church.

Crosses and candlesticks upon the altar were gradually being restored. Mr. A. P. De Lisle noted early in 1841 that he had been to see (with Dr. Bloxam) “three parish churches in the neighbourhood of Oxford, which have been fitted up in a very Catholick way, with large candelabra in front of the altars and great wax tapers, besides two candlesticks on the altars

into the Roman Catholic communion at Oscott on December 15, 1842, and his reception caused an unjust attack on Mr. Newman. See the *Apologia*, 1st ed., pp. 299–304, where “Mr. B. S.,” is Mr. Bernard Smith, and the Bishop in question, Dr. Kaye, of Lincoln. Bernard Smith was the authority for the “grey trousers” story, so well told by Mr. Wilfrid Ward (*Life of Cardinal Newman*, i, p. 83). He survived all his contemporaries, and died at Great Marlow (where he had been Roman Catholic Rector for fifty-three years) in October, 1903, aged 88. He was a very well-known entomologist. There are brief accounts of him in Bloxam’s *Register of Demies of Magdalen College*, iv, p. 308–9, and in Dr. Macray’s *Register*, N.S., vi, p. 128–9.

¹ For Mr. Sibthorp see above, p. 96, note 1.

themselves, and the cross and flowers, etc.”¹ The evidence for the revival of such ornaments at this early stage is full and good.²

But the revival of the full Eucharistic vestments tarried. A considerable impetus to it was undoubtedly given by the publication in the famous *Origines Liturgicae* in 1832 (the work of W. Palmer, of Worcester College), of an Appendix on Vestures, which not only asserted that the alb, chasuble, and stole were ordered to be worn by the Prayer Book, but provided plates illustrating the vestments described. The weight of Mr. Palmer's authority was considerable, for his learning was indisputable, and he was known to be strongly opposed to the Romanizing party in the Movement.

Further proof of the growth of this revival may be seen in Ecclesiastical Kalendars published in these years. *An Ecclesiastical Almanack* published in 1840 gives liturgical directions as to transferring Feasts which coincide, and rules for the observance of

¹ *Life of A. P. De Lisle*, i. 248 : letter dated from Oxford, “S. Catherine of Sienna” (i.e. April 30th), 1841.

² An Anti-Tractarian novel, *Our New Vicar : a Tale for the Times* (Seeley, 1841), describes the retirement of the Tractarian incumbent : “Mr. D’Arcy is gone : the cross and wax candles have gone too . . . and I wish I could say the beer-shop had done the same.”—*British Critic* (1842), p. 249.

Fast Days ;¹ while a *Christian Kalendar for the use of Members of the Established Church*, published in 1845, gives detailed directions for the Liturgical colours of the "Altar Cloths, Copes, and Vestments," and in its "Directions for the Preparation of the Altar at the time of the Celebration " mentions the cross and two lighted tapers, and directs that "on the Epistle side should be laid a cushion for the Book."²

The storms of 1845 checked for a while the ceremonial revival, yet only for a while. In 1848 appeared the *Hierurgia Anglicana*, edited by "Members of the Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society." The Preface to that learned work is valuable as giving a sort of programme of the aims the restorers set before them : it mentions, with several other points, the eastward position, the mixed chalice, the use of the credence table, flowers, crosses, and incense. As to the Eucharistic vestments, it says : "We are surprised that the ecclesiological movement of the last ten years has accomplished little or nothing towards their

¹ The issue for 1840 is "the second number," and reprints the Advertisement to the issue of 1839. It was published by J. Leslie, Great Queen Street, London. Its press mark in B. Mus. is P.P. 2484. h.

² It is quoted in Bricknell's *Judgment of the Bishops*, p. 709.

restoration. We have been privileged to walk in white-robed processions with gleaming banners . . . we have assisted at High Communion, when jewelled cross and chalice, embroidered frontal and lighted tapers have decorated the stone altar : but nowhere have we witnessed one instance of compliance with the Rubrick" as to the vestments. A note is added to this statement : "Since the above was written we have heard that a chasuble was worn by an English Priest at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, on a recent festal occasion ; and that a Priest in the diocese of Exeter has, for some time past, officiated at the altar similarly apparelled."¹ These exhortations did not fall on deaf ears. It is said that the Eucharistic vestments were restored in the parish church of Wilmscote, Warwickshire, in 1849 ; Dr. Neale wore the chasuble in chapel at East Grinstead, in 1850 ; while in 1852 the vestments were restored at the parish church of S. Thomas, Harlow, in Essex, where their use has continued unbroken since. In Oxford itself a red chasuble was first worn at S. Thomas's, on Whitsun Day, 1854.

The revival of ceremonial, like the doctrinal movement of which it was the counterpart, was originally in the hands of scholars and

¹ *Hierurgia Anglicana* (1848), pp. vii-ix.

archaeologists—Dr. Bloxam and some of his brother Fellows at Magdalen. It was taken up by men of equal competence at Cambridge, foremost among whom was John Mason Neale. In May, 1839, Neale, then an undergraduate at Trinity College, founded the Cambridge Camden Society, with Thomas Thorp, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity and Archdeacon and Chancellor of Bristol as its president. In 1841 it began to publish monthly *The Ecclesiologist*, and by 1843 the society had seven hundred members, and had secured the patronage of two archbishops, sixteen bishops, thirty-one peers and Members of Parliament. Such growth was too fast to be sure. In the storms of 1845 the society was dissolved (while Neale was out of England), but it was refounded in 1846 as the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society, with its head-quarters in London; and Neale, with Benjamin Webb and A. J. B. Beresford Hope, became its guiding spirits until its end in 1863.¹

The Cambridge men carried on the revival on the lines begun by Dr. Bloxam; it was scholarly, and based on careful research.²

¹ For this see *Memoir of J. M. Neale, D.D.*, by E. A. Towle, pp. 40-51, 118-20; and, more fully, *Letters of J. M. Neale, D.D.* (1910), pp. 12-18, 57, 58, 84.

² "A proof of this can be seen in the fact that Bloxam,

But meanwhile checks had begun to operate which were to have serious and disastrous results. The first of these was the violent opposition of the English bishops, with but one or two exceptions. This opposition was singularly unintelligent; it was based not upon liturgical scholarship, but upon the fear of popery. It did not arrest the ceremonial advance, but it checked the older and more scholarly men, with the result that younger men took the lead, who turned for their models, not to libraries and to the records of the English Church, but to the ceremonial they found existing as a living rite in the Churches of France and Belgium. The consequences of this appeared later. A second check, equally discouraging to scholars, was mob violence. To their shame it must be said that individual bishops did little or nothing to check these outbreaks, which reached their most scandalous height at S. George's-in-the-East in 1859. Before treating of these checks in detail, a few further facts as to the progress of the revival should be noted.

who had been printing privately, sheet by sheet, a *Book of Fragments* relating to Church rites and customs, discontinued the work on the appearance of the Ecclesiological Society's *Hierurgia Anglicana*, which covered the same ground."—Dr. W. D. Macray, in his *Register of Magd. Coll.*, N.S., vi. 113.

In October, 1845, a fortnight after Mr. Newman's secession, the new church of S. Saviour's at Leeds was consecrated. It was meant to show what a model English parish church might be. Its ceremonial and ornaments are therefore important in the history of the growth of the Revival. Before its consecration the Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Longley) insisted upon the removal of an inscription on the jewelled chalice which prayed that God would be merciful to Lucy Pusey, of the cross over the chancel-screen, and of the altar linen.¹ He insisted on a fair linen cloth covering the whole altar at the Eucharist.² Meanwhile the ceremonial was studiously simple. There was only one altar frontal, a violet one,³ until 1848, when the remaining colours were intro-

¹ *Life of Dr. Pusey*, ii, p. 492.

² Dr. Tait, then Bishop of London, when consecrating All Saints', Margaret Street, on May 28, 1859, made a like objection, and the whole altar had to be covered with a linen tablecloth before he would begin the service. It appeared later that the bishop had never seen a fair linen covering the *mensa* only, and thought that there was no linen cloth at all on the altar.—W. A. Whitworth, *Quam Dilecta*, pp. 81, 82.

³ "As long as there is only one colour," Pusey wrote to B. Webb (then an active member of the Cambridge Camden Society), "I suppose violet best suits the state of our Church."—*Life of Dr. Pusey*, ii, p. 478.

duced, and at the same time the choir were vested in cassocks and surplices. In 1849 white stoles replaced (at the Christmas festival) the black scarves previously worn. Mr. J. H. Pollen, then Fellow of Merton, and an English clergyman who was helping the S. Saviour's clergy noted "At midnight the first Mass. The stoles all white. The gleams of glory about this place are too much for me."¹ It was not until 1859 that an altar cross, altar lights, and the Eucharistic vestments were introduced and used.²

The revival meanwhile had begun in the London churches, the Margaret Street Chapel leading the way with an imitation of Dr. Bloxam's arrangements at Littlemore in 1839.³ More famous was the story of S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and its daughter church, S. Barnabas, Pimlico.

The first stone of S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, was laid in November, 1840, and the Bishop of London, Dr. C. J. Blomfield, had appointed as vicar of the new district William John Early Bennett, then Minister of Portman Chapel, Mayfair. Mr. Bennett, having been captain of Westminster School, became Student of

¹ *John Hungerford Pollen*, by Anne Pollen (1912), p. 167.

² *The Church Revival*, S. Baring-Gould (1914), p. 272.

³ See above, p. 162.



WILLIAM J. E. BENNETT.

Christ Church, Oxford, and had been ordained in 1828. He was a most earnest and energetic parish priest, and already an author when Bishop Blomfield selected him for this new charge. He was to become known in the early struggle for ceremonial, for he was an early sufferer in the cause, while later (in 1870) he became famous in the doctrinal controversy as to the Real Presence.¹

The new church of S. Paul's was opened and consecrated in June, 1843; the bishop is said to have ordered the removal of an oak eagle meant to serve as a lectern.² For the next twenty years and more such an ornament was regarded as popish—on what grounds it is hard to imagine. In Advent, 1846, the choir was surpliced, and at some date before 1847 the two candles on the altar were lighted at the Eucharist. The eastward position at the altar had been used since 1845. At S. Barnabas's, Pimlico, the daughter church of S. Paul's, consecrated in 1847, there were much the same ornaments—a jewelled altar-

¹ Mr. Bennett was born November 15, 1804, and died at his vicarage at Frome Selwood, August 17, 1886. He had been Vicar of Frome since January, 1852. A memoir, *The Story of W. J. E. Bennett*, etc., by F. Bennett, was published in 1909, and there is an account in *D.N.B.*, vol. xxii, pp. 169-71.

² *The Story of W. J. E. Bennett*, etc., p. 40.

cross, a pair of altar candlesticks, a screen to the chancel with gates, and a cross above it. Bishop Blomfield allowed these, but he objected absolutely to flowers on the altar.¹ Dr. Neale, in the chapel at Sackville College, East Grinstead, had the same ornaments—a stone altar, an altar-cross, two candles, flowers, and a large cross above the screen,² and coloured frontals in 1846.

A few years later the revival had gone further. S. Mary Magdalen's, Munster Square, N.W., was consecrated in 1852; and the eastward position was used there from the first,³ and altar-lights, and there was a surpliced choir. The use of incense was begun there on Christmas Eve, 1854,⁴ although the Eucharistic vestments were not revived until Easter, 1864.⁵ In 1848 the use of a processional cross began at S. Andrew's, Wells Street,⁶ and a dignitary at once denounced the practice as "unheard

¹ *The Story of W. J. E. Bennett*, pp. 41, 57, 59, 60, 89.

² *Letters of J. M. Neale*, pp. 96, 97, 99, 100; E. G. K. Browne, *History of the Tractarian Movement* (1859), pp. 361, 362.

³ *Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, Minutes of Evidence, ii. 236, Question 10,922.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 229, 230.

⁵ The Eucharistic vestments were not worn at All Saints', Margaret Street, until 1867, nor at S. Barnabas's, Pimlico, until 1879.

⁶ *S. Andrew's, Wells Street, 1847-97* [n.d.], p. 97.



EAST END OF MARGARET CHAPEL, 1845.

of since the Reformation." Such were the limits of the revival of ceremonial up to 1854, in which year the period of the prosecutions begins.

It remains to speak of the checks to the revival. One mark of the Tractarians had been a scrupulous observance of the rubrics of the Prayer Book : the revival of ceremonial was a part of this general principle. Two practices thus revived were much disliked—the recitation of the Church Militant prayer and a weekly collection, called inaccurately in those days "the offertory." Further, the Tractarians discarded the use of the gown for the sermon, and preached in the surplice, and at the same time began to revive the more general use of the cassock.

The progress of these restorations can be traced through this period by the operation of the checks already referred to, viz., the outbursts of episcopal displeasure and the outbreaks of mob violence.

In 1842 Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, delivered a famous charge, in which he commended increased attention to the rubrics, advised the use of the surplice instead of the gown at the Sunday Morning Service, and urged the recitation of the Church Militant prayer. At the same

time he denounced the practice of placing flowers upon the altar, and especially of altering their colour to correspond to some saint's day: "This appears to me to be something worse than frivolous, and to approach very nearly to the honours paid by the Church of Rome to deified sinners."¹ The Evangelical clergy, led by the *Record* newspaper, began a vigorous resistance to the use of the surplice in preaching, and the bishop yielded. The agitation against the surplice and the weekly collection gained ground, and in 1845 the bishop weakly withdrew his directions. The storm, directed against the surplice in the pulpit, raged more fiercely in the west.

The Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Henry Phillpotts, had also in 1842 urged the due observance of the rubrics. In 1844 he had an opportunity of enforcing his view. The Vicar of Helston was presented by his churchwardens on various charges, among them for preaching in a surplice. The bishop not only decided the point in favour of the vicar, but issued an order to the diocese (November 20, 1844), ordering the surplice to be worn in all ministrations, if the more costly vestments were not provided. Immediately the storm broke so fiercely that a month later

¹ *Memoir of Bishop C. J. Blomfield*, ii. 36.

the bishop withdrew his "order," save where it was already obeyed. In January, 1845, the mob took up the tale, and the riots in Exeter were so grave that all the police force of the city was required to protect the surplice-wearing clergy. The bishop bowed to the storm once more, and absolved the clergy from their obligation to wear the surplice in the pulpit. Riots broke out in Exeter later in 1848, because a clergyman preached in his surplice, and again, in obedience to the bishop, the practice ceased.¹ The Exeter rioters illustrate the progress of the revival by 1848, for on November 5th of that year they burnt in place of the traditional hero a figure dressed in a cassock, a surplice, and a black stole.

The general use of the cassock was a part of the revival. That garment had survived in the Universities, and was, as it still is, part of the dress of a clergyman when he is presented at Court. It was, if engravings of popular preachers of this period are to be trusted, usually worn with the gown and bands in preaching. But in ordinary ministrations in church it seems to have disappeared. Its revival was marked by similar opposition,

¹ There is an excellent account of these Exeter riots (drawn from an unpublished MS.) in S. Baring-Gould's *The Church Revival*, pp. 212-5.

though less bitter, than that which had greeted the black stole. The compiler of *The Judgment of the Bishops upon Tractarian Theology* (Oxford, 1845) deals with the cassock under the heading of "Eccentricities in Dress." An attempt had been made towards a general resumption of cassocks by the clergy. It was gravely proposed that *fifty* persons should simultaneously assume this garb in London on Michaelmas Day, 1842, "the editor of the *Church Intelligencer*" (then an organ of the High Church party, now the official magazine of the Church Association) "put down his name as number one." The writer makes merry over the letters of various correspondents describing how cassocks are made. An Oxford Bachelor wrote suggesting a petition to the bishops begging them to enforce observance of the 74th Canon, so that clergy might "reassume the clerical costume without being made the victims of a persecution."¹ The general reappearance of the cassock probably owes something to Bishop W. K. Hamilton of Salisbury, who as canon of that church between 1841 and 1847 "by way of keeping before him a reminder of his work . . . used to wear his cassock all day, and it was not until after the afternoon (cathedral) service that he put on

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 624, note 2.



S. SAVIOUR'S, LEEDS: INTERIOR.

his coat for a walk.”¹ Such a practice shows that the practice of wearing the cassock was returning.

Both mob rioting and episcopal violence marked the career of the distinguished theologian and hymnologist, John Mason Neale. Neale, in 1846, became Warden of Sackville College, East Grinstead, and his ornaments there have been described.² The Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Gilbert, visited the chapel in May, 1847, and objected to the altar and to the flowers. Next day he wrote a letter formally inhibiting Neale from officiating, and condemning, with great piety, “the foppery with which Mr. Neale had transformed the simplicity of the chapel at Sackville College into an imitation of the degrading superstitions of an erroneous Church.” Dr. Gilbert spoke also of “spiritual haberdashery.”³

Dr. Neale remained under this inhibition until 1861. Rioters began their work at East Grinstead in 1848; they continued it in 1851 (when they nearly burnt the college). Riots broke out again in 1856, and culminated in the most disgraceful scene of all in 1857 at

¹ *Memoir*, by H. P. Liddon (1869), p. 43. Dr. W. K. Hamilton was Canon of Salisbury 1841-54, and Bishop 1854-69.

² Above, p. 178.

³ Article on Dr. Neale in *D.N.B.*, vol. xiv, p. 144. E. G. K. Browne, *History of the Tractarian Movement*, p. 362.

the funeral of a S. Margaret's Sister in Lewes. The riot in 1851 was caused by the use of a wheeled bier and a purple pall with a plain cross upon it—Neale's mild attempts at funeral reform.¹

But the slightest matters caused these disturbances; in 1854 Mr. (later Dr.) R. T. West was curate at Hemel Hempsted. His recital of the Church Militant prayer gave great offence, and there were "terrible scenes . . . mobs roving about, looting, etc." The panic was aggravated by crosses being found on book-markers in the Bible and Prayer Book in the desk. After a weekday Even-song one of the churchwardens seized the Bible and carried it off, with the offending book-markers, to the vicarage.²

In 1850 rioting began in London. The country was alight with fear of popery, a fear caused by the setting-up of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in that year; and Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, in a desperate attempt to secure popularity for his falling ministry, fanned the flames with a violent "Letter to the Bishop of Durham," in which he attacked the teaching and practice of the clergy of the revival. A few days later

¹ *Letters of J. M. Neale*, pp. 112, 113, 164-70, 273, 299.

² *Memoir of Richard Temple West*, by T. T. Carter (1895), pp. 17, 18.

the Lord Chancellor, at the Lord Mayor's dinner, on November 9th, spoke "of the simplicity of Christian worship which our Saviour adopted and left us an example of."¹ The mob was soon up, and on November 10th riots began at S. Barnabas's. They continued Sunday by Sunday for a month until, on December 8th, a cursing and blaspheming multitude filled the church. Mr. Bennett on that day, by a remarkable sermon, saved the church from wreck, and from that morning the dangers became less acute, though disturbances continued throughout 1851.² The bishop now strove to suppress the revived ceremonial and ornaments, in particular the coloured frontals and the altar-cross. "If it costs me my see," he declared, "I will have that cross removed"; but he was unsuccessful.

By 1854 the ceremonial revival at S. Barnabas's (for the bishop had largely stopped the choral worship at S. Paul's) had attained to—

1. Procession of clergy and choir from and to the vestry.
2. Bowing to the altar.
3. The eastward position.
4. Coloured frontals for the altar.

¹ *The Story of W. J. E. Bennett*, pp. 266, 267.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 121, and *Charles Lowder: A Biography*, pp. 33–8.

The invocation before the sermon, the eastward position of the Epistoler and Gospeller, and the surplice in the pulpit had been given up. Further, the bishop forbade the daily prayers to be said in the chancel. The bishop allowed bowing to the altar, he forbade bowing at the *Gloria Patri*, he allowed the choir procession for the offices, he forbade the clergy proceeding to the altar with the vessels in their hands as an intolerable thing.

A new stage in the struggle began in 1854, when recourse was had to the law courts. Mr. Bennett had been succeeded as Vicar of S. Paul's in 1851 by the Hon. Robert Liddell. Against Mr. Liddell a suit was begun by the churchwarden, Westerton, for the removal of the high altar and its cross, candlesticks, coloured altar-cloths, and the credence table. The churchwarden lost his case in the final appeal, for the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council affirmed the view of the Ornaments Rubric held by High Churchmen.¹ Though

¹ cf. the evidence of the Archbishop of Canterbury before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. *Minutes of Evidence*, ii. 349; Question 12871. "After the judgement by the Privy Council in Westerton v. Liddell, vestments began at once to be introduced in various churches." The archbishop qualified the words "at once," later when he said, "I do not mean that it came in with a rush, and at once, but that in the series of five or six

the Eucharistic vestments were not in question in the suit, their case was obviously covered by the judgement (delivered in 1857) and one result of the decision was to promote their revival. The followers of the Movement had never doubted that they had the letter of the law on their side. Their opponents, it would appear, had little doubt of it either. The bishops who were, with one or two exceptions, utterly opposing the revival were yet aware that the usages they disliked were sanctioned by the law of the Church and of the land. "The bishops, most of them felt the awkwardness, to say the least, of seeming to be repressing usages which they knew to be under the more or less explicit sanction of the only court of law to which an appeal had been made."¹

If the bishops who were bent on crushing the revival felt "the awkwardness of the situation," they certainly spared no pains to make the revivalists feel it also in ways most bitter and most stern. For though the law might be on the side of the revived ceremonies popular opinion was not, and the forces of ignorance and prejudice were not difficult to

years that succeeded that judgement the usages undoubtedly became more frequent."—*Ibid.*, ii. 350; Question 12879.

¹ Evidence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, *ibid.*, ii. 351; Question 12885.

rouse. In 1859 there began the infamous riots at S. George's-in-the-East. Those riots were ostensibly due to the ceremonial practised by the rector and by his assistant clergy—in fact they were due to the owners of dens of vice whose livelihood was threatened by the work of the mission clergy. The ceremonial revival at S. George's began at the mission church opened in 1856, where vestments had been worn from the first. They were introduced into the parish church in 1858.¹ In May, 1859, a violent Puritan clergyman was appointed by the vestry as Lecturer at the parish church. The Bishop of London (Dr. Tait) licensed him in spite of the protests of the rector. On May 22, 1859, the Lecturer entered the pulpit of the church, "triumphantly brandishing the bishop's licence in his hand."² This was the beginning of the riots which for ten months, more or less, made a Christian church a disgrace to England—"the vilest of the vile, the very scum of the most degraded parts of London, men, women, and boys, going there 'for a lark.'"³ Many of the rioters were Jews: one who was present says, "there could be no

¹ *Charles Lowder*, p. 141; *Bryan King*, ed. W. Crouch (1904), p. 35. Mr. King, in his *Sacrilege and its Encouragement*, 3rd ed. (1860), p. 10, says that the vestments were presented to him "about three years ago."

² *Charles Lowder*, p. 173.

³ *Ibid.*

mistaking the Hebrew cast of countenance of many of the young men who created the disturbances.”¹

The police declined to interfere, and the church was given over to a howling and blaspheming mob. The points of ceremonial which were alleged against Mr. King were the choral service (particularly the choral Litany) and the vestments. The Bishop of London (Dr. Tait) on September 5, 1859, in a letter to the senior churchwarden, declared that as to the use of the vestments, “he had announced his intention to put a stop to such follies when he could do so”; he wrote of “this childish mimicry of antiquated garments,” and bade the churchwardens give him immediate information of any clergyman officiating at S. George’s “so dressing himself up that he may resemble as much as possible a Roman Catholic priest.”²

It was no wonder that with such declared opposition to the ceremonial at the church the rioters were encouraged, and the riots

¹ S. Baring-Gould, *The Church Revival*, p. 235. Mr. Baring-Gould gives an account of the riots, of which he was an eye-witness, pp. 232-7.

² The letter is printed in full in the *Life* of Archbishop Tait (ed. 1891), ii. 237-44. “Dr. Tait had previously, in December, 1858, interviewed Mr. King and one of his curates (Mr. W. R. Burn) as to wearing coloured stoles, and had induced the curate to promise not to repeat the practice.”—*Bryan King*, pp. 78, 79.

continued furiously. The church was closed for a time ; when it was reopened, the riots began again, until on March 4, 1860, the mob "pelted and defaced the altar-hangings with orange-peel and bread and butter, and threw down the altar-cross." The bishop thereupon bade the churchwardens remove the choir stalls, the altar-hangings, and the altar cross. Well might "a Layman" write to Lord Brougham in April, 1860, "Every act of the Bishop of London since his first intervention has resulted in a triumph for the rioters over the Rector of S. George's."¹ The bishop, so far from supporting the rector, recommended further concessions to the rioters ; and ultimately the mob triumphed, for Mr. King, broken in health, was unable to return to the parish, and the bishop succeeded in abolishing the very moderate ceremonial which had been established.

The riots at S. George's-in-the-East close the series which had begun at Exeter in 1844. The powers of the bishops still remained, and they were exercised with considerable freedom.²

¹ Quoted in *Charles Lowder*, p. 184.

² Dr. Tait, during the struggle at S. George's-in-the-East, had issued various monitions which four great ecclesiastical lawyers of the day (including the Evangelical Dr. Stephens) declared in a formal opinion to be "not worth the paper upon which they were written."—*Ibid.*, pp. 182, 183.



*A. H. MACKONOCHE, FIRST VICAR OF
S. ALBAN'S, HOLBORN.*

Nevertheless, the revival proceeded. In 1863 the Church of S. Alban the Martyr, Holborn, was consecrated, with Mr. Mackonochie as its first vicar. Round that beautiful church and its devoted vicar the battle of the ceremonial revival raged for the next twenty years. At S. Alban's, from its consecration, the ceremonial at the Holy Communion included the eastward position, the mixed chalice, unleavened bread, altar-lights, and linen vestments (these last provided by the founder). In 1865 silk vestments (presented by the congregation) replaced the linen, in 1866 the use of incense was begun.¹

These usages were later known as the Six Points.² The new church was marked down for Puritan attack, but the weapon chosen was not that of mob violence nor of episcopal censure, both of which Mr. Mackonochie had experienced when working at S. George's-in-the-East. The moment seemed propitious for a suit in the law courts.

In 1867 Mr. Mackonochie was arraigned for using the mixed chalice, altar-lights, kneeling during the Prayer of Consecration, elevating the chalice and paten, and censuring persons and things.³

¹ *Saint Alban the Martyr, Holborn: A History*, etc., by G. W. E. Russell, p. 43.

² See below. p. 193.

³ With this case was tried the cognate action of *Flamank v. Simpson* (Mr. Simpson was Vicar of East Teignmouth, Devon).

It is to be noted that the prosecution did not at this time venture to attack the Eucharistic vestments or the eastward position.

In 1868 the Dean of the Arches (Sir R. Phillimore) ruled that while elevation, the censuring of persons and things, and the chalice mixed during the service were unlawful, yet that altar-lights and kneeling during the Prayer of Consecration were permitted.

The prosecutors appealed on the points permitted to the Privy Council, which decided that lights and "excessive kneeling" were forbidden, but disconcerted the appellants by an opinion in favour of the eastward position—a practice which was thereupon adopted by some like the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, who had previously consecrated at the north end.¹ In 1870 Mr. Mackonochie was suspended by the Privy Council for three months for disobeying its judgement by genuflecting during the Prayer of Consecration. And the Church Association began further attacks in the courts. One of the Brighton clergy—Mr. John Purchas, incumbent of S. James's—was charged with some thirty-five illegal practices, including the use of the vestments, the eastward position,

¹ *Alexander Heriot Mackonochie*, pp. 149–54 (part of a most learned chapter contributed by Dr. R. F. Little-dale).

wafer-bread and the mixed chalice. These were ruled to be legal by the Dean of the Arches, but the Privy Council, on appeal in 1871, reversed this decision.

The decision in the *Purchas* case (*Elphinstone v. Purchas* and *Hebbert v. Purchas*) marks a third stage in the revival. Hitherto the vestments and the eastward position were believed to be lawful; those who revived such practices were assailed as being "Rubricians," too precise in their obedience to the law. By this judgment the law was declared to tell another tale; and it was disregarded in S. Paul's Cathedral by the two senior canons (Dr. Liddon and Mr. R. Gregory, later the dean), who continued to take the eastward position. The *Purchas* judgment marks an epoch in two other respects. From this year, 1871, the aims of the revival of ceremonial crystallize into the restoration of the six points—the eastward position, the Eucharistic vestments, altar-lights, the mixed chalice, unleavened bread, and the use of incense;¹

¹ These appear on a formal resolution at the annual meeting of the English Church Union on June 15, 1875, as matters upon which "without . . . wishing to go beyond what recognized Anglican authorities warrant as to their use . . . there should be no prohibition . . . when desired by clergy and congregations." The resolution was moved by Canon T. T. Carter, of Clewer, and seconded by Mr. Francis Barchard.—*History of the English Church Union* (1895), p. 173.

and from this time dates the discrediting of the Privy Council as a final Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical causes, in the eyes of a large and growing number of Churchmen. The Purchas judgment became, in its way, like the decision of the judges in the matter of John Hampden and Ship Money in the reign of King Charles I; resistance to it became a duty to those to whom constitutional government, whether in Church or State, was dear. The growth and influence of this body of opinion was finally registered by the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline in 1906, when it unanimously reported that "the judgments of the Judicial Committee cannot practically be enforced."¹

But a heavy price had yet to be paid; men were to be broken and work was to be wrecked before that truth was gained.

One priest so broken was the great composer Dr. J. B. Dykes, Vicar of S. Oswald's, Durham. In 1873 the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Baring) declined to license a curate to the parish (Dr. Dykes had secured grants for two such assistants) unless the vicar gave him a written pledge that he would not require a curate to wear coloured stoles, to take the eastward position, or to be present when incense was used (incense was not used, nor was its use contemplated at S. Oswald's). Dr. Dykes re-

¹ *Report*, p. 67, § 363.

fused to give the pledge, and Dr. Baring refused to license an assistant. Dr. Dykes, thus left with the care of a large parish, unaided, utterly broke down, and died in January, 1876.¹ He was in his fifty-third year.

The opponents of the ceremonial revival, elated by the Purchas judgment, redoubled their attacks. In 1874 Dr. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Prime Minister (Mr. Disraeli), succeeded in passing into law a Public Worship Regulation Act, the object of which was, in Disraeli's words, "to put down Ritualism." It was passed without previous consultation with the Convocations. The Act erected a new court, to preside over which an ex-judge of divorce, Lord Penzance, was chosen. Within five years (1877-82) four clergymen were imprisoned by this tribunal for refusing to obey the later decisions of the Privy Council. Their names deserve to be had in remembrance—they were Arthur Tooth, Vicar of S. James's, Hatcham (1877); Thomas Pelham Dale, Rector of S. Vedast and S. Michaelle-Querne, in the City of London (1880); Richard William Enraght, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Bordesley (1880); and Sidney Faithhorn Green, Vicar of S. John's, Miles Platting

¹ *The Church Revival*, S. Baring-Gould, pp. 254, 255; art. in *D.N.B. Life and Letters of J. B. Dykes*, ed. J. T. Fowler (1897), pp. 168 seq., and Appendix ii.

(1881-2). To them should be added that of James Bell Cox, Vicar of S. Margaret's, Liverpool (1887). Their terms of imprisonment varied from fourteen days (in the case of Mr. Tooth) to a year and seven months (in the case of Mr. Green). In each case the charges were the use of four or more of the six points.

Meanwhile a fresh judgement by the Judicial Committee, in the case of *Clifton v. Ridsdale* in 1877, condemned vestments and wafer-bread, although a strong minority of the court was known to dissent from the decision. One of them, Chief Baron Kelly, described the decision as "a judgment of policy, not of law," while another, Lord Justice Amphlett, "a Churchman of the broadest and most secular type," described the judgement as "flagitious."¹ From 1867 until 1883 the rancorous prosecution of Mr. Mackonochie went on. Dr. Tait, on his death-bed in 1882, attempted in some measure to reverse his previous policy, and advised Mr. Mackonochie to resign his cure of S. Alban's, Holborn, and arranged for his appointment to S. Peter's, London Docks ; but the measure failed to stay the penalties of Lord Penzance's court, and that judge pronounced Mr. Mackonochie deprived of his benefice in 1883. The Bishop of

¹ Herbert Paul, *History of Modern England*, iv. 351-2.



S. ALBANS, HOLBORN: INTERIOR.

London (Dr. Jackson) made no effort, however, to remove this much-persecuted priest, who, worn out by anxieties, resigned his Vicarage of S. Peter's, London Docks, six months later.

The scandal of what was believed to be the unfairness of these doings at last roused public opinion, and by their bitterness and violence the opponents of ceremonial overreached themselves. They made, however, one last attempt, and in 1888 prosecuted Dr. Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln, for alleged illegalities in ceremonial. After some uncertainty as to the jurisdiction, the Archbishop of Canterbury tried the cause with five bishops as assessors. The decision, given in 1890, affirmed the lawfulness of the eastward position (provided that the manual acts at the Prayer of Consecration were not hidden), the mixed chalice (if not mixed during the service), the altar-lights, the singing of the *Agnus Dei* after the Prayer of Consecration, and the ablutions at the end of the service. Two points, the sign of the cross at the absolution and at the blessing, were decided against the bishop.

The Lincoln case marked the beginning of a new order. For the first time since the revival began an archbishop had arisen who was a learned and competent authority upon ceremonial.¹ From this date, 1890, the policy

¹ Dr. Edward White Benson, 1829-96.

of repression and hostility was dropped, and the English diocesan bishops made what speed they might to reverse the action of their immediate predecessors, and to understand and so to guide the revival. From this time began a fresh study of ceremonial and of ritual, the voices of scholars began once more to be heard and to be listened to, and the Movement began to shed some of its exotic features, and became what it was designed to be at first—dignified and intelligible and loyal to the precedents of the English Church. The process was a slow one after so many years of strife, nor can it be said to have been accomplished yet. And no wonder. For the bishops from the early period until 1890 strained to breaking-point the trust of the followers of the revival in their justice and in their competence. So long as the bishops believed the law to be on the side of the revival they attacked its followers as innovators and their practices as “antiquated mummeries,” and the authority of law was conveniently burked.¹ So soon as judgment had been given in

¹ The Archbishop of Canterbury in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline said: “I do not myself remember any charge that I have read belonging to that time (1840–66) which dealt with the legal point very bravely.”—*Minutes of Evidence*, ii. 351; Question 12886.

their favour, i.e., the Purchas judgement in 1871, they proclaimed the "lawlessness" of the ceremonialists. "The evil that men do lives after them." Just as the Heads of Houses in Oxford had striven by means which were cruel and unintelligent to arrest the Movement in its earlier years, so did the English bishops in their turn, from 1840 to 1890, strive to crush those who were reviving the lawful ceremonial of the English Church. The Heads, in the event, lost their authority when the time of change came, the bishops impaired for a generation at the least the influence of their order among clergymen and laymen of the persecuted school.

The policy of repression by the bishops had this further ill effect on the revival itself. It checked the labours of the older and more scholarly men, and leaders of a far less learned type replaced them. These new guides found their models in the ceremonial of modern Rome. Their influence is marked by the publication of the *Directorium Anglicanum*, 1858, edited by Mr. John Purchas (1823-72), later the defendant in the famous suit. In 1865 the *Directorium* was re-published, edited by Dr. F. G. Lee (1832-1902), a clergyman of much varied knowledge, a voluminous author and a good antiquary, but so far from being a scholar that he had never

graduated at his own University of Oxford. The ideals of this school were practically modern Roman, although to some degree its leaders were acquainted with the usage of the pre-Reformation English Church. Cottas replaced surplices, hoods were discarded as "Anglican," old English Church customs which had survived the storms of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were abolished as being incorrect.¹ At the same time, as was likely without careful leadership, practices that were eccentric and even silly began; Mr. Purchas, for instance, was accustomed to hang a stuffed dove over his altar at the Whitsuntide festival. Yet when the clergy turned to their leaders the bishops for direction they met commonly with repression and rebuke.¹

¹ See in *English Church Life, 1660-1833*, p. 142, Dr. Wickham Legg's account of such a case and his remark: "Doubtless the change at Exeter was made with the intention of promoting the cause of progress, and credit should be given for good intentions, if not altogether successful."

¹ The following instance is in point here, although it belongs to a slightly earlier time. It is given by Mr. Henry Newland, Rector and Vicar of Westbourne, Sussex, in 1852.

"The Bishop of . . . had some time since a district incumbency to give away within the sphere of the South Church Union. He came to the conclusion that Mr. A, a hard-working, zealous clergyman, would make a very good incumbent. Mr. A was summoned, came, heard of his lordship's intentions, and in the fullness of his heart began to talk about what he should do when put in

The result of this can be seen in the diversities of use which mark the ceremonial of the English Church to-day. The policy of repression failed, as it was bound to fail, in the face of the spiritual force against it: it must be said also that it deserved to fail, for it was based on prejudice and fear; it used the weapon of coercion, not the arguments of reason and of sound learning. "Wise to know the times" is the most ironical and inappropriate judgement that could be passed on the majority of the English bishops in their dealings with this side of the Oxford Movement for its first fifty years.

The one relief to the story is the character of the men whose steadfastness, devotion, and patience helped to win the cause. If they were not exactly "destitute" they were

charge of his cure. 'In the daily service, my lord,' he said, 'I shall—' 'The *what*, sir?' interrupted the bishop.

"'I was merely observing,' said Mr. A, 'that when I have established the daily service—' 'I am sorry to tell you,' broke in the bishop, 'that in this case it will be my duty not to present you; daily service is a party badge, and as such I must discourage it.'

"So Mr. A went home without the living, and Mr. B was instituted instead. He did not trouble himself with daily service, but in place of it he set his parishioners an example of daily intemperance."

Three Lectures on Tractarianism (1852), pp. 142, 143. A most admirable book, which might with advantage be circulated widely to-day.

certainly "afflicted and tormented"; they had "trial of cruel mockings" (if not literally "of scourgings"); "yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment."

Dr. Neale, Mr. Mackonochie, Dr. Dykes, and their fellows were priests for whom in any age the Church would have had cause to thank God. To take one instance. Of the many English Churchmen who use and value *Hymns Ancient & Modern* probably few realize how those whose words and whose music have made that book famous suffered in this cause. Dr. Neale, the prince of hymn writers, was mobbed by rioters and inhibited by his bishop; Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley, as a young deacon, experienced the violence of the riots at S. Barnabas's in 1850¹; while Dr. Dykes, though saved from mob violence, had his life embittered and his work cut short by the action of the Bishop of Durham, Dr. Baring, who was resolved to abolish, so far as he could, the use of the eastward position and of coloured stoles. These men were set in the forefront of a battle which was not of their own choosing and for which some of them had very little taste²:

¹ *The Story of W. J. E. Bennett*, p. 109.

² Thus of Mr. Mackonochie, his friend and colleague, Mr. E. F. Russell says, "Music, form, and colour were unknown languages to him."—*A. H. Mackonochie*, p. xii.

they gave themselves gladly and willingly for a cause in which they believed that the Faith of the Gospel was at stake. Few of them lived to see the winning of the struggle, none of them received any reward from the Church in which they served with such devotion ; and it may be that in a few generations their names will be forgotten by all but students of Church history. Certainly these men would have expected no other lot, they cared for fame no more than for place or for honour here. Yet English Churchmen will be poorer if they fail to keep in memory the examples set and the lives lived by these later men of the Oxford Movement, who fought and who won against heavy odds the battle of the Ceremonial Revival.

CHAPTER VII

SOME RESULTS

THE writer of the Book of Joshua records that "Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest."¹ The Oxford Movement, from more than one point of view, bears a strong resemblance to such a phenomenon; and one consequence of this is that any attempt to estimate its results, the results of a tide that is still flowing, is bound to be both provisional and incomplete. Yet certain results have already appeared in literature, in art, and in the general life of the English Church, which are sufficiently apparent to be recorded.

In literature the Oxford Movement has certainly left its mark;² in poetry, in prose, and among the English novelists, its followers have already won an abiding fame. *The Christian Year*, which was in a way the herald of the Movement, has secured a place which has been granted to no other volume of religious

¹ Joshua iii. 15.

² See Archdeacon Hutton on "The Oxford Movement," in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. xii, ch. xii.

poetry in the language. The poetry of Newman, Isaac Williams, and F. W. Faber still lives, and not only lives but also moves the hearts of its readers. In Christina Rossetti (1830-94) the Movement possessed one who has been described as "the most perfect poet that ever, in the English tongue, linked the highest aspirations of religion with the most exquisite expressions of poetry."¹ To her "the Catholic theology of the English Church was the very health of life,"² and her art as well as her life was wholly coloured by it. Her devotional works in prose are widely known, but her poetry has set her among the great writers of English literature.

The *Lyra Apostolica*, which contains much of Newman's poetry, was a result of the Movement in the early days.³ And the Movement was marked, as all really religious movements have been marked, by a burst of sacred song. The best-loved hymns in English, excluding those of the Wesleys and of Bishop Ken, as well as the most tender and the most familiar, are the work of the men of the Oxford Movement. "New every morning is the

¹ Archdeacon Hutton, Introduction to *Cherry and Violet* (1897), pp. xiv, xv.

² The same writer in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, xii, p. 277.

³ See above, p. 39.

love" and "Sun of my soul, Thou Saviour dear" were contained in the *Christian Year*; "Praise to the Holiest in the height"¹ and "Lead, kindly Light" would alone have been sufficient (apart from his prose works) to preserve the name of John Henry Newman; while the hymns of F. W. Faber, such as "Hark, hark, my soul" and "Souls of men, why will ye scatter?" are known wherever the English language is spoken.

The second generation of the Movement carried on this high tradition, for of all English hymn writers, ancient and modern, John Mason Neale is in some provinces the chief. He first unlocked the doors of the Church's treasures of sacred song, doors which had been closed for three centuries since the old Latin hymns had been disused, and by his exquisite translations he restored to English Churchmen a long-forgotten part of their heritage. "Jerusalem the golden," "For thee, O dear, dear country," and three or four other hymns, are all part of Dr. Neale's translation of the rhythm of Bernard of Morlaix. Nominally translations from the Greek, but really Neale's original work, are "Art thou weary, art thou languid?"

¹ "Praise to the Holiest in the height" was written, it should be said, long after its author had become a Roman Catholic. It forms part of his famous *Dream of Gerontius* which was published in 1866.

and "O happy band of pilgrims." Neale's genius, perhaps more than that of any other man, is responsible for the excellent collections of hymns which resulted from the Revival, and caused something like a revolution in the Sunday worship of English parish churches.

The *Hymnal Noted* appeared in two parts in 1852 and 1854, and of the hundred and five hymns in that book ninety-four are by Neale. In 1861 appeared *Hymns Ancient & Modern*, and there the power of the hymn writers of the Movement is seen at its best. The editor, Sir Henry Williams Baker, a Cambridge graduate and Vicar of Monkland, in Herefordshire, was a devout follower of the Movement. Among his own hymns are "The King of love my Shepherd is," "There is a blessed home," and "Shall we not love thee, Mother dear?" The history of the compilers of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* is to some extent the history of the Movement out of which it sprang, and that famous collection did more than many books and sermons to spread the Church's teaching. One great name stands out in that book—the name of William Bright (1824–1901), Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford from 1868 until his death. Great as a Church historian, Bright was also a "hymn writer of the first rank," and his noble hymn, "And now, O FATHER, mindful of the love," teaches

the truth of the Eucharistic Sacrifice with a care and beauty that could hardly be surpassed.

From first to last a loyal follower of the Movement, Dr. Bright suffered in its cause in his earlier days, for he was most unjustly ejected from the theological tutorship of the College at Glenalmond in 1858, on account of his Tractarian opinions. Later, as Canon at Christ Church, he became the colleague of Pusey, Liddon, and King, whose close friend he already was.

Other hymnals reflecting the spirit of the Movement were the *People's Hymnal* (1867) and the *Hymnary* (1870), and most recently of all the *English Hymnal*, compiled by a committee of clergymen and laymen in 1906. This last book provoked some censure on account of the invocations of the saints, which some of its hymns contained, and it was prohibited in several dioceses. An "abridged" edition which omitted four of the hymns objected to was issued by the compilers in 1907.

The Movement has borne fruit, not only in English verse and hymnody; among its prose writers are men who, as historians, preachers, and theologians have won enduring fame. Its learning was from the first indisputable. *The Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church anterior to the division of*

the East and West remains a solid monument of the foundations upon which the Movement stood. Begun in 1838 with Keble, Newman, and Pusey as editors (to whom Charles Marriott was added in 1843), the *Library*, when it was completed in 1885, had issued forty-eight volumes, the works of thirteen Fathers and ancient writers. Among its contributors, besides the four editors, were Church, Thomas Keble, W. J. Copeland of the first disciples, and Bright and Liddon of the second generation. Many of the *Tracts for the Times* were works of considerable learning. The *Lives of the English Saints*, begun under Newman's editorship in 1843, are remarkable in more ways than one, a fact which is not to be wondered at since among the writers were Newman himself, Church, F. W. Faber, Dalgairns, and two who, in after days, hated Tractarianism bitterly—Mark Pattison and James Anthony Froude.

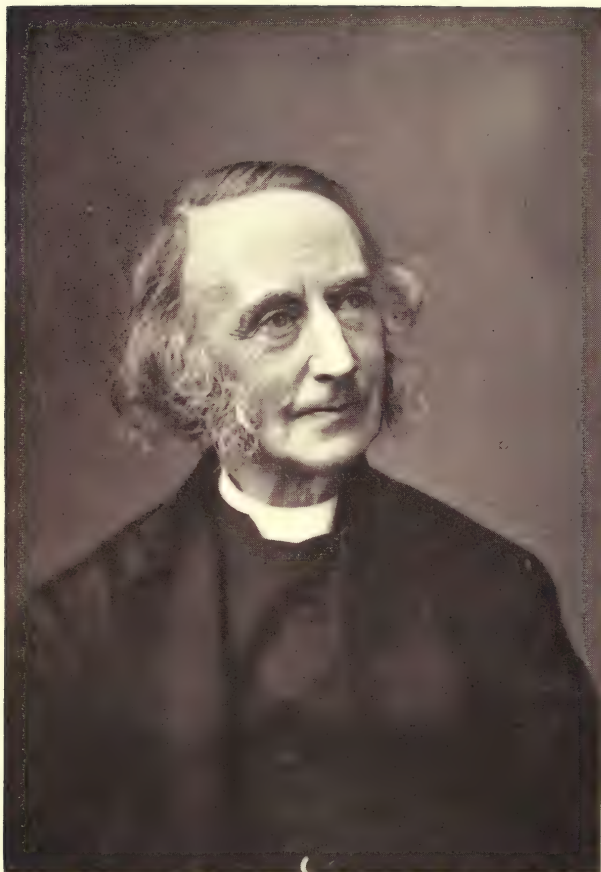
The Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, a project for reprinting and editing the scarce works of some of the greatest of the post-Reformation divines, was a further result of the Revival. The publication began in 1841, and continued until 1863; and in those twenty-two years, although the full programme was not completed, eighty-eight volumes had been issued. It was directed by

a committee of twelve, which at first, at any rate, represented very exactly the old High Churchmen and the men of the Movement. Among these last in 1844 were Keble, Newman, Pusey, and W. Palmer (of Worcester College) of the actual Tract writers, with W. J. Copeland and Dr. Mill of Cambridge; while of the older High Churchmen there were Dr. Hook, Archdeacon Churton, and Dr. Moberly of Winchester. At first its success seemed doubtful: "The *Anglo-Catholic Library*," wrote Newman, on January 10, 1841, "is in a tottering condition. Copeland has given up the editorship, because our divines do not go far enough for him; and Maitland¹ has withdrawn from the committee because the concern is in Copeland's, etc., hands. Meanwhile . . . the Protestants of London have started an Opposition Society which is to bring out cheaply Reformation works.² It is no plan of mine," he adds, "and neither Pusey nor I was warm about it."³ The *Library*, however, survived these storms, and English theology is the richer for the labours of scholars who devoted them-

¹ Dr. S. R. Maitland, Librarian to Archbishop Howley. See below, pp. 214, 215.

² This was the *Parker Society*, instituted in 1840, which began its work in 1841.

³ *Letters and Correspondence*, ii. 323.



RICHARD WILLIAM CHURCH, DEAN OF S. PAUL'S.

selves to this work—notably, A. W. Haddan, who edited the works of Archbishop Bramhall, and W. Scott of Hoxton, who edited the works of Archbishop Laud.

Apart from these productions of the Movement, as a whole, there stand out the treatises of its great theologians. Mr. Keble was a divine as well as a poet; Dr. Pusey was no poet, but he was a theologian of profound and massive learning, and the list of his printed works, beginning in 1824, covers fifty pages of his published life; Mr. Newman was a great theologian and a great preacher as well as a poet, while his exquisite prose style has raised him to a place among the few famous writers of perfect English.

Behind these first three crowd many great names, greatest of all that of Richard William Church, whether he be considered as preacher or as historian or as man of letters, a master of English not unworthy to be compared with Newman himself. Among the historians and theologians of the Movement come William Stubbs, later Bishop of Oxford, and Francis Paget, his successor in that see, whose powers were shown in his sermons and by his Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, thus concluding a revision of Mr. Keble's edition which he and Dean Church had begun. With them ranks Dr. William Bright, a

historian, a preacher, and no mean poet besides. Arthur West Haddan (1816-73), Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, was a scholar, a theologian, and a historian, whose labours met with little reward here, but who, according to Dean Church, "for his learning, and for his services as a man of learning, has had few equals in his generation."¹ Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce left the English Church in 1854, but he may justly be claimed as one of the great theologians of the Movement, for his famous theological treatises were written when their author was a convinced English Churchman. Dr. Liddon, though most famous as a preacher, proved his power as a theologian by his Bampton Lectures on the Divinity of our LORD, in 1866, while Dr. J. B. Mozley, as a philosophical divine, was almost without a rival in the English Church in his day. Archdeacon Edward Churton (1800-74) was known not only as a theologian but as a Spanish scholar, and John Mason Neale has won a place in the Temple of Fame, as a historian, a theologian, and a hymn writer, and as a writer of stories which have lost none of their charm to-day.

¹ Obituary notice in the *Guardian*, February 12, 1873. Reprinted in the Introduction (by Bishop A. P. Forbes) to the *Remains of the late Arthur West Haddan*, B.D. (1876), p. xvi.

Richard Frederick Littledale was another of the second generation who did yeoman's service. After a brilliant career at Trinity College, Dublin, Littledale came to work in England, and became the close friend of Dr. Neale, whose *Commentary on the Psalms* he completed after Neale's death. A theologian and liturgiologist, Littledale, though he was afflicted with chronic ill health, did as much as any other man to popularize the Revival. He was a strong controversialist, and his controversial gifts overshadowed for many his greater powers. A frequent contributor to periodical literature, Dr. Littledale was for many years one of the staff of the *Church Times* and helped to make the success of that newspaper, while at the same time he was a spiritual guide to many souls.¹ Littledale's learning and devotion met with no recognition from the authorities of the English Church, staunch Anglican as he was, but the Movement, of which he was for thirty years so real a part, is his best memorial.² He died in

¹ The *Dictionary of Nat. Biog.*, s.v. Littledale, R.F. (xi. 1243), says quaintly, "Until his death he continued to act as a father-confessor, and next to Dr. Pusey is said to have heard more confessions than any other priest of the Church of England."

² There is, unhappily, no life of Dr. Littledale, but a delightful sketch of his career is in Mother Kate's *Memories*

1890 at the age of fifty-six, and no one exactly fills his place.

In its earlier days the Movement made its power known not only through the *Tracts for the Times*, and through more formal treatises, but also through its magazines. In the 'thirties and 'forties and later the great magazines were a considerable force in public life, the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly* above all others; and it was inevitable if the Movement was to give its message to thoughtful and serious men that it should have its own messenger. At first that office was undertaken by the *British Magazine*, founded by Hugh James Rose in 1832, as an organ of High Church principles; and in the *British Magazine* appeared most of the poems which were published afterwards as the *Lyra Apostolica*, and which were almost the first articulate voice of the new Movement. Rose ceased to be editor in 1836, his brother Henry John Rose took his place until 1839, when a more famous Cambridge scholar, Dr. S. R. Maitland (1792-1866) succeeded him, and continued as editor until the death of the *Magazine* in 1849. Dr. Maitland's historical articles (begun in 1835) exposing many

of a Sister of S. Saviour's Priory, pp. 188-206. He was bitterly attacked in a now forgotten novel, *Reginald Barentyne*, by Dr. F. G. Lee in 1881 (2nd ed., 1882), where he appears as Dr. O'Frothie.

popular fallacies as to the Middle Ages and the English Reformation attracted considerable attention to the *Magazine*, and roused the strong indignation of Evangelicals and Low Churchmen ; but they have left a profound mark on the study of English history. From 1838, however, the *British Magazine* became less and less a Tractarian paper. Another, more famous, had taken its place. This was the *British Critic*, founded as a monthly in 1793 by Jones of Nayland—an old High Churchman, with others, to oppose the principles of the French Revolution. From 1836 to 1838 it was partly edited by J. H. Newman, who became sole editor from 1838 to 1841, when he handed it over to his brother-in-law and brother Fellow, Thomas Mozley. Mozley has told his experiences as editor in his *Reminiscences*. The magazine became more and more the mouthpiece of the Romanizing school—W. G. Ward, Oakeley, Dalgairns, and others ; and the indignation of the older Tractarians rose so high that, for the sake of peace, it was brought to an end in October, 1843.¹

Meanwhile another magazine, a monthly, had started on its way—the *Christian Remembrancer*, begun in 1841 by William Scott (1813–72), incumbent of Christ Church,

¹ For references for the history of the *British Critic*, see above, p. 61, note 2.

Hoxton, and by Francis Garden as co-editors.¹ In 1844 the *Christian Remembrancer* became quarterly, and J. B. Mozley joined Scott as co-editor until 1854, when he retired. The magazine continued until 1868, and it was a strong force in its day. Some of Dr. Mozley's most famous essays appeared in it, and Church was one of its frequent contributors. Scott himself was a remarkably able and learned man, and his judgement and high character won him the trust not only of Dean Church and Dr. Mozley, but of bishops like W. K. Hamilton of Salisbury and Phillpotts of Exeter. Even better known was the *Saturday Review*, founded on a new plan in November, 1855, with J. D. Cook as its editor. Its principal proprietor was A. J. B. Beresford Hope, and though the paper was not at all strictly ecclesiastical, yet its views on Church questions were those of the Movement. Among its contributors were Scott of Hoxton, Benjamin Webb, and Lord Robert Cecil, afterwards third Marquis of Salisbury and Prime Minister, whose sister Beresford Hope had married. The *Church Quarterly Review*, founded in 1875, continued to some extent the learned tradition of the earlier Tractarian magazines, at first under

¹ As to the origin of the *Christian Remembrancer*, see a letter from Lord Blachford to Dean Church.—*Letters of Lord Blachford*, p. 362.

the editorship of Canon A. R. Ashwell (1824-79), then from 1880 to 1885, of Benjamin Webb, who was succeeded on his death by a member of his congregation at S. Andrew's, Wells Street—Charles Knight Watson. One short-lived effort deserves to be remembered, not only for its name, but for the distinction of its work, a weekly sixpenny review after the manner of the later *Saturday Review*—the *Surplice*, which began in November, 1845, and ended in November, 1846. It owed much to the ability of a lay Fellow of Magdalen, Richard Clarke Sewell (1803-64), a brother of William Sewell, the founder of Radley College.

Most famous of such ventures was the *Guardian*, founded by Sir F. Rogers (later Lord Blachford), Church, James Mozley, and Montagu Bernard in January, 1846. Lord Blachford himself has left an account of the origin of the paper, which really owed its fame if not its life to a review by Church of Lyell's *Vestiges of Creation*, and to an article by him on Le Verrier's discovery of the planet Neptune.

Later, in the course of the struggles over the revival of ceremonial, Lord Blachford and Dean Church took different views, and for a time the dean's influence was withdrawn; but about 1883 the rift was healed, and so long at least as its first founders lived the

Guardian remained a trusty witness to the principles of the Movement.¹

A Tractarian weekly paper of a more popular sort was the *English Churchman*, begun in 1843. It ceased to represent the principles of the Movement, and in 1884 was purchased by an extreme section of the Evangelicals for whom the *Record* had become too moderate.² Its place was taken, or rather a new place was created in February, 1862, when the first number of *The Church Times* appeared, published at a penny. It was a startling development in more ways than one, and the pungency of its criticism made its reputation when it was a month old. "It was for some years a rather embarrassing reputation,"³ but each year of its life strengthened its hold and made it probably the most widely read Church newspaper in England. Dr. Littledale was, until his death, an important influence in its counsels and his Irish wit and humour had much to do with its early reputation, but Mr. Keble himself seems to have

¹ On the history of the *Guardian* see *Letters of Lord Blackford*, pp. 118, 119; *Dean Church* by D. C. Lathbury (himself editor of the *Guardian* from 1883 to 1899), p. 149, note 1.

² Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party* (1908), p. 293.

³ *The Church Times* Supplement, February 7, 1913, p. 2.

been an occasional contributor to the paper¹ so that it was linked from the first to the cause of the Church Revival. Other magazines and weekly journals supported the Movement and spread its teaching; monthly magazines—the *Churchman's Companion*, *The Penny Post*, *The Monthly Packet* founded by Miss Yonge in 1851 and edited by her without assistance for thirty-eight years. These are only a few of the results of the Oxford Movement in periodical literature. To chronicle the rise and fall of other ventures such as the *Union*, the *Union Review*, the *Church Review* and their fellows is beyond the scope of this sketch. It is equally beyond it to record the story of the publishing houses linked with the story of the Movement beginning with the Mozleys at Derby and the Parkers at Oxford and the Rivingtons in London, through James Burns and Toovey and Masters down to the publishers of to-day.

It would at first scarcely be guessed that the austere followers of the Oxford Movement would be successful and popular as novelists and story writers, yet in that province of literature they have also proved their power. Newman, after his secession, showed his skill in that unfamiliar field; but far more popular, and in their way more powerful, were the

¹ *The Church Times* Supplement, February 7, 1913, pp. 1, 3.

stories of F. E. Paget, Rector of Elford; of William Gresley, Prebendary of Lichfield; of A. D. Crake, not to mention the famous allegories of William Adams, Fellow of Merton, and those of Edward Monro. Newman's sister Harriet (wife of Thomas Mozley) was the first in time of the Tractarian women novelists with her stories, *The Fairy Bower* and *The Lost Brooch*, published in 1841, but her fame was eclipsed by a devoted High Churchwoman of the next generation, Charlotte Mary Yonge, the spiritual child of Mr. Keble, whose novels and stories reached a wide public, and won her a secure place in English literature. Not less gifted, and hardly less important, was Elizabeth Missing Sewell, whose story *Amy Herbert*, published in 1844, was many times reprinted, and whose other books, written between 1847 and 1868, are novels of real power.

One Tractarian novel, forgotten now but sufficiently famous in its day to pass through three editions in its year of issue, and to be honoured by an article in the *Quarterly Review*, written by no less a person than Mr. Gladstone,¹ is *From Oxford to Rome* (1847), the anonymous work of a Miss F. E. S. Harris; while Lady Georgiana Fullerton (1812-85) wrote her first book, *Ellen Middleton*, in 1844,

¹ *Quarterly Review* for June, 1847, pp. 131-66.

while she was an Anglican. In 1845 she followed her husband into the Church of Rome. Sermons are a class of literature apart; and the sermons of the leaders of the Oxford Movement are already classical—Newman, Pusey, and Keble alike, though in very different fashions, were very famous preachers. Sermons as compelling and as powerful are those of Church, of Mozley, and of Liddon; the latter indeed was probably the greatest English preacher of the nineteenth century, and a preacher whose style and manner have influenced more than one generation of English clergymen.

In literature, and especially in those fields of it which belonged to their high calling, the men of the Oxford Movement have left an honoured name. Yet in some quarters even this has been denied to them. Mr. Jowett, the well-known Master of Balliol, towards the end of his career, seems to have asserted that the Tractarians were ignorant of literature and despised it. The statement was brought to the notice of Dean Church, who dealt with it as it deserved. The conclusion of the Dean's judgement on this opinion may serve as an epilogue to this imperfect attempt to record the achievements of the men of the Oxford Movement and their followers in English literature. "Poor Trac-

tarians !” Dean Church wrote, “Jowett attacks them for want of literature, another man for deficiency in Biblical exegesis, another man for want of German philosophy, and ignorance of Kant. It seems that they were expected to exhaust all important subjects in the few years when they were mostly fighting for their lives. It is odd that such a poor lot should have been able to leave such a mark behind them.”¹

The Revival of 1833 found expression not only in English literature. A natural channel for its energies lay in those of the fine arts which more directly serve the worship of God—architecture, painting, and music ; and in all of these its followers have shown what manner of spirit they were of. The Caroline revival of the seventeenth century had its great architect in Sir Christopher Wren, but from his death until the Gothic revival English ecclesiastical architecture suffered an eclipse. The Gothic revival in England preceded by a few years the *Tracts for the Times*, for its greatest exponent—

¹ *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 334. It will be obvious that the very brief survey of the literary effects of the Oxford Movement attempted here is very incomplete. For a rather fuller, but still inadequate, list the writer may be permitted to refer to his Bibliography of the Oxford Movement in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, xii, pp. 453-463.

Augustus Welby Pugin—was at work in the reign of George IV ; but the Oxford Movement, sprung in part from the same source as the Gothic revival, was to give it its great opportunity.

A. W. Pugin early became a Roman Catholic, but his architectural ideals were shared by J. R. Bloxam, the most learned ecclesiologist among the first Tractarians ; and in the early days Pugin, through Bloxam, came to know the Oxford men. The greatest blow of his life—a blow which possibly shattered his health—was when the converts of 1845 deserted the Gothic revival as redolent of Anglicanism, and, like Newman and W. G. Ward, became enthusiastic adherents of the Classical style.¹ Two architects, John Raphael, and his brother Joshua Arthur, Brandon, did much to spread an exact knowledge of the principles of Gothic architecture by their book on *Parish Churches* (1848), and by their *Analysis of Gothic Architecture* (1847). J. A. Brandon died in this last year, and though his brother survived until 1877, the best-known English Church that he built is S. Peter's, in Great Windmill Street, London. Meanwhile the Cambridge Camden [later the Ecclesiological] Society had

¹ See on this *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, pp. 154, 155, and Ferrey's *Recollections of A. N. W. Pugin* (1861).

been born, and among its earliest sympathizers was William Butterfield (1814-1900), whose first great work was to rebuild, in 1845, the ruined Abbey of S. Augustine at Canterbury as a missionary college. Butterfield was throughout his long life a convinced and devout Tractarian, and, fitly enough, he designed and built All Saints', Margaret Street, and S. Alban's, Holborn, in London, as well as Keble College at Oxford. Butterfield's idiosyncracies in the matter of colour have exposed his work to serious criticism, but the originality and noble proportions of many of his churches and the majesty of their design are beyond criticism. And his work "cannot be considered apart from the inner spirit of the Church Revival," his art was entirely inspired by his Churchmanship; "he instilled into" his craftsmen and workmen "something of his own scruples against working for the Roman Church, and something of his own willingness to labour, if need be, without reward, for the Church of England."¹

More successful, and not less famous than Butterfield, was John Loughborough Pearson (1817-97). Great churches of the Revival in London stand to witness to his genius—S. Augustine's, Kilburn; S. John's, Red Lion

¹ Paul Waterhouse, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xxii. 362, s.v. Butterfield, W.

Square ; and S. Peter's, Vauxhall, above the rest ; while Truro Cathedral shows that the Tractarian, no less than the Caroline revival, could inspire its sons to raise a great House of God fit to be the centre of the worship of a diocese. Butterfield and Pearson were not alone. The work of Sir Gilbert Scott (1811-78) and George Edmund Street (1824-81) "went hand in hand with the Oxford Movement in its early days."¹ Scott, brought up in a strongly Evangelical home (he was a grandson of Thomas Scott, the famous Calvinistic commentator), was drawn to the Revival and to the love of Gothic architecture by the influence of Pugin and of the Cambridge Camden Society. In 1844 he deviated from Tractarian principles by designing a Lutheran church at Hamburg,² but until his death he remained a strong upholder of the Gothic style.

More important in the Revival than Scott are the two famous men who were in part trained in his office—George Edmund Street (1824-81) and George Frederick Bodley (1827-1907). Both were men of genius, and both were devoted

¹ Paul Waterhouse, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Second Supplement, i. 189, s.v. Bodley, G. F.

² He was arraigned for this in the *Ecclesiologist*, vol. i, New Series, No. 4, p. 184, and retorted by defending the Lutheran position.—*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xvii. 958.

Churchmen. Street, as early as 1850, became the friend of W. J. Butler, Vicar of Wantage, and through him came to know Bishop Samuel Wilberforce. In 1853 he designed the Theological College at Cuddesdon and the buildings of the East Grinstead Sisterhood, refusing for this last (which is one of his noblest works) any remuneration. While the Royal Courts of Justice, in the Strand, are his best known work (it should be remembered that they are the only public buildings in London which bear a figure of our LORD), yet not a few churches of the Revival exhibit his genius and devotion. Among them are All Saints', Clifton ; S. Mary Magdalene's, Paddington ; and a beautiful church among the Surrey hills, Holmbury S. Mary, which Street built at his own cost.

Mr. Bodley's work is not less splendid, for he mastered the art not only of building but of decorating the churches he built. S. Michael's, Brighton, and S. Martin's, Scarborough, were early fruits of his genius, while the church at Clumber and the church and buildings of the Society of S. John the Evangelist, Cowley, are examples of his later style. From 1869 until 1898 Bodley was in partnership with Thomas Garner, and the dissolution of that long fellowship was "not perhaps unconnected with Garner's reception



GEORGE FREDERICK BODLEY, R.A.

into the Roman Church.”¹ For, like Butterfield and Street, Bodley was a loyal and enthusiastic adherent of the Oxford Movement.

These pioneers handed on to younger men the torch alike of their genius and of their Churchmanship. Charles Eamer Kempe (1837-1907), most famous of all modern English workers in stained glass, was originally encouraged in that art by Bodley, and Kempe was till death a devoted son of the Movement. Other famous architects and workers in stained glass, trained or inspired by Bodley, are alive to-day, men who, with whatever individual developments of genius in their particular arts, preserve the tradition of that high devotion to the Church of CHRIST in England which inspired their old master.

The Gothic revival in the English Church did not pass without rebuke. A leading Evangelical clergyman, Francis Close (1797-1882) of Cheltenham, later Dean of Carlisle, spoke the thoughts of many of his party in his fierce denunciations of the new spirit in architecture. Not content with a violent sermon, *The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery*, preached on November 5, 1844, Close published a longer work on the subject in the same year, *Church Architecture Scripturally Considered*, which reached a second edition

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Second Supp., i. 189, s.v. Bodley, G.F.

in 1853. In this tractate he declared that "whenever extravagant attention was paid to Church Architecture then the most debasing superstition prevailed, and the most notorious corruptions were dominant. Superstition and Church architecture," he added, "were coeval from the beginning."¹

The decorative arts, apart from working in stained glass, were not neglected by the followers of the Movement. John Hungerford Pollen, in the years of his life in which he ministered in the English Church, not only worked as a priest at S. Saviour's, Leeds, but also at Oxford decorated the roof of the old church of S. Peter-le-Bailey and of the chapel of Merton College, of which he was Fellow. But Pollen's best work as a decorative artist was done after he had left the English Church.²

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 78. In the Second Edition, App. II, Mr. Close wrote, "Mediaeval architecture—the architecture of our Cathedrals and old Parish Churches was Popish ; was designed and adapted for Mass-houses, not for hearing and reading of God's Word ; but for ceremonies, processions, and solemn operas ; and they are therefore ill-adapted for Protestant congregational services, for common prayer, and the preaching of the Gospel."

² These works were apparently done in 1850 (*John Hungerford Pollen* (1912), pp. 42, 190–1). The Church of S. Peter-le-Bailey which contained his paintings was pulled down in 1872. Pollen became a Roman Catholic in 1852, and died in 1912.

A more famous artist and a stauncher Tractarian was William Dyce, R.A. (1806–64), whose fresco paintings in the House of Lords and in All Saints', Margaret Street, survive to record his genius. Dyce is described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as "one of the leaders in the High Church Movement."¹ The statement is an exaggeration, but it contains this amount of truth, that Dyce was well read both in theology and in the Fathers, and when in 1851 Mr. Ruskin issued his unfortunate theological pamphlet, *Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds*, Dyce replied to it with admirable effect, learning, and good taste in his *Notes on Shepherds and Sheep*.² George Richmond, R.A. (1809–96), was, like Dyce, a sincere follower of the Movement, and closely connected with All Saints', Margaret Street, as a member of its congregation.³ Most famous for his portraits, Richmond painted or drew Mr. Keble, Mr. Newman, Dr. Pusey, and Dr. Liddon, and designed and executed (for he was sculptor as well as painter) a marble

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* vi. 280, s.v. Dyce, William.

² *Notes on Shepherds and Sheep: A Letter to John Ruskin, Esq., M.A.*, by William Dyce, M.A., Royal Academician, Professor of the Theory of the Fine Arts, King's College, London, 1851.

³ Gladstone's *Correspondence on Church and Religion*, i. 409.

bust of Dr. Pusey, now at Pusey House, and a bust of Mr. Keble which he presented to Keble College. Later generations of the Movement owe a real debt to Richmond for preserving the features of these leaders whose friend and loyal follower he was.

Charles Allston Collins (1828-73) was another painter who followed the Revival. Brother of the novelist Wilkie Collins, and son-in-law of Charles Dickens, he was one of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood; he suffered much from broken health, and died in his forty-fifth year. His skill as a painter is shown in the well-known picture "Convent Thoughts," now in the University Galleries at Oxford. Other Churchmen whose artistic genius was fired by the Movement were Henry Styleman L'Estrange (1815-62), a Norfolk squire, who painted half the roof of the nave of Ely Cathedral, and had designed the cartoons for S. Alban's, Holborn, when his work was cut short by his sudden death, and Thomas Gambier Parry (1816-88), a no less distinguished artist, and a squire in Gloucestershire, who completed L'Estrange's work at Ely, and painted frescoes in Gloucester Cathedral and decorated part of Tewkesbury Abbey.

The distance between painting and embroidery may seem wide, but needlework can justly claim a place among the arts, and

time was when the embroidery-work of the English nuns was famous all over Western Europe. Those days ended with the suppression of the religious orders and the Great Pillage in the sixteenth century. For a moment the Laudian revival renewed this art, and a few specimens, chiefly altar-frontals, survive of the skill of devout Churchwomen in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹ The ceremonial revival, which was a part of the Oxford Movement, awoke the old spirit, and though the first Tractarian attempts at embroidery are crude and ugly, and sometimes merely imitative, yet, as the Movement progressed, this beautiful art has yielded "raiment of needlework" worthy of the King's daughter, and fit for the worship and service of the King.

Music has, from the day that S. Augustine and his fellows came singing their litanies into the presence of King Æthelberht, claimed its part in the worship of the English Church; and as the Tractarians raised the whole idea of worship, so in music the men of the Oxford Movement have left a name behind them. They did two things—they altered the whole place of music in the worship of English parish churches, and they enriched

¹ "Arts of the Church," *Church Embroidery*, by Alice Dryden (1911), pp. 83-7.

English Church music with new and beautiful works. Church music had survived in English cathedrals and collegiate churches even through the darkest days of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries ;¹ but in parish churches it had lapsed into the singing of one or two metrical psalms by a selected choir to the accompaniment of a barrel-organ or of the instruments of the local musicians, while the rest of the congregation listened in silence. With the Oxford Movement choral worship re-entered the parish churches. Hymns gradually ousted the metrical psalms, the psalms and canticles began to be sung (many now alive can remember when "singing the Psalms" was regarded as a serious step in the direction of Rome), and not only the divine office but the Eucharist itself began to be sung solemnly.

The Margaret Street Chapel led the way in this revival, for its incumbent from 1839 to 1845—Frederick Oakeley—was a very cultivated musician, and the choral worship

¹ All that is recorded of one eighteenth-century Bishop of Chichester, who ruled from 1754 to 1798, by the historian of that see, is that he reduced the number of lay vicars (i.e., choir men) from eight to four. It is fair to the bishop to add that he did this at the request of the dean and chapter.—W. R. W. Stephens, *Memorials of the See of Chichester*, p. 346.



*THE LAST EUCHARIST ON THE FEAST OF THE EPIPHANY
AT MARGARET CHAPEL IN 1850.*

*(The Chapel was taken down after Easter, 1850, and was
replaced by the present Church of All Saints.)*

begun by him soon became famous.¹ These services continued after Mr. Oakeley's secession, and it would seem that the revival of sung Eucharists in parish churches began at that Tractarian sanctuary, for on December 31, 1847, Benjamin Webb wrote to J. M. Neale, "At Margaret Chapel they have now got up a complete musical Mass—the Commandments, Epistle, Gospel, Preface, etc., all sung to the ancient music. . . . I venture to assert that there has been nothing so solemn since the Reformation."²

A church within a stone's throw of the Margaret Chapel was in the van of this revival—S. Andrew's, Wells Street, consecrated in January, 1847. There, from the first, the Psalms and canticles were chanted, originally to Gregorian tones; and from very early days the Eucharistic Office appears to have been sung there on Holy Days and Sundays.

These examples were soon followed in other churches of the Revival. In the summer of 1860 Archbishop Trench, then Dean of Westminster, staying at Brighton, wrote to his

¹ Samuel Wilberforce, then Archdeacon of Surrey, attended Evensong there in May, 1844, and expressed his dislike of what he saw and heard; but he added, "The singing beautiful; one old-version psalm to an old Gregorian tone quite marvellously beautiful."—*Life*, i. 237.

² *Letters of J. M. Neale* (1910), p. 107.

brother : "In the evening I was at S. Paul's (very high), where the service is certainly wonderful ; puts the best of our Abbey services in this line into the shade." ¹ S. Paul's Cathedral in London, under the guidance of Dean Church, Dr. Liddon, and Robert Gregory, caught the flame a decade later. There a resident choir school was begun in 1873, a choral Eucharist was sung on Whitsun Day, 1872, and after Easter Day, 1873, there was a choral Eucharist on every Sunday and Holy Day, a service of which Dean Gregory wrote that "it is certainly one of the most attractive and beautiful services in the Church of England." ² If that be so, it is in great measure due to the skill and devotion of a great musician of the Movement, Sir John Stainer.

One not very happy result followed these early efforts. It became in time an object to be attained to introduce what is called a cathedral service into ordinary parish churches. This was indeed a corrupt and not very intelligent following of the early leaders, and recent years have seen a wholesome revolt against elaborate musical services. This development, however, has long since ceased to be a work of the followers of the Oxford Movement, and

¹ *Letters and Memorials of Abp. R. C. Trench*, i. 324.

² *Autobiography of Robert Gregory, D.D.*, p. 199.

cultivated and elaborate music was long ago adopted by Broad Churchmen.

Among the followers of the Movement two musicians who were devoted priests stand out—John Bacchus Dykes, Vicar of S. Oswald's, Durham, and Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, Canon and Precentor of Hereford Cathedral and Professor of Music at Oxford.

Dr. Dykes was a distinguished Cambridge man, and suffered in the cause of ceremonial revival.¹ Sir Frederick Ouseley had a lesser share in that struggle, and both men did their best-known work in the sphere of Church music. Dykes "confined his art almost entirely to the writing of hymn tunes," though some of his anthems are famous, and he was "the earliest and best exponent of a new style" which dates from his earliest published tunes in 1857.² Dykes's tunes did more than any others to make popular the now famous *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (which owed its origin to a meeting of Tractarian clergy at S. Barnabas's Vicarage, Pimlico, in 1857, and was first published in 1860-1). His tunes in that book number fifty-five, and among them are "Nearer, my God, to Thee," "Eternal FATHER, strong to save," "Saviour, again to Thy dear Name we raise," "Holy,

¹ See above, p. 194.

² Introd. to *Hist. Edition of Hymns A. & M.*, p. civ.

Holy, Holy!" "JESU, Lover of my soul," "The King of Love my Shepherd is." Many others, as beautiful and as familiar as these,¹ are sung to-day by many who know little of the great cause to which Dykes gave his life.

Sir Frederick Ouseley was a musical genius of another order. He wrote some hundred anthems, many chants and carols, and two oratorios, and much secular music besides. Like Dykes, he was closely associated with *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, in which his tunes, though not as popular as those of Dykes, are nearly as well known; among them are those set to "Sweet Saviour, bless us ere we go," and "The radiant morn hath passed away." Sir Frederick Ouseley, in 1856, founded and endowed a church with a college (a choir school) attached to it at S. Michael's, Tenbury, Herefordshire, to further the great desire of his heart—the raising of the standard of the choral worship of the English Church. Ouseley at first proposed to found his church and college near Oxford, but Bishop S. Wilberforce, "who had at that time been driven into a condition of extreme caution, felt constrained to decline the offer of one whose name had

¹ A list of Dr. Dykes's hymn tunes, carols, and anthems is given in his *Life and Letters*, ed. by Dr. J. T. Fowler (1897), App. II, p. 321.

been so closely connected with S. Barnabas, Pimlico,"¹ and after some doubts and delays room was found for the foundation in the Diocese of Hereford, where it still continues its work.

A most devout lay musician who followed the Movement was Dr. William Henry Monk (1823-89). After holding various appointments, Monk, in 1853, became organist at S. Matthias's, Stoke Newington, and in 1859 edited the music of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. As a composer his music is widely known, some of his hymn tunes are in all collections, amongst them that set to "Abide with me." Dr. Dykes records in his diary a visit to Sir Henry Baker, at Monkland, when at an early Eucharist, at which Dykes was celebrant, Dr. Monk served—a close and most characteristic association of these two great musicians and Churchmen.²

The work of Sir John Stainer (1840-1901) at S. Paul's Cathedral has already been mentioned. In a very real sense his work for the English Church was a fruit of Ouseley's college at Tenbury, for Sir Frederick brought him there as organist when he was little more than a boy in 1857; and to his two years at

¹ *Life of Rev. Sir F. A. G. Ouseley, Bart.*, etc., by F. W. Joyce (1896), p. 83.

² *Life and Letters of J. B. Dykes*, p. 149.

Tenbury Stainer "used to ascribe much of his ultimate success as a Church musician."¹ Later, at Oxford, Stainer was at S. Edmund Hall when Liddon was the Vice-Principal, and Liddon brought Stainer to S. Paul's in 1872. "An admirable appointment," wrote Dr. Dykes, "as a Churchman and as a musician; he is the very man for the post."²

Another school existed in the Movement, side by side with that represented by Dr. Dykes and Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley—the school which sought to restore the ancient Church music—the Plainsong or Gregorian method. Oakeley at Margaret Street Chapel had led the way there, and his organist, Richard Redhead (1820–1901), carried on and carried forward his work. "His Plainsong Psalter *Laudes Diurnae*, 1843, and his *Church Hymn Tunes*, 1853, . . . were leading books on the musical side in the Catholic Revival."³ Redhead was from 1864 organist at S. Mary Magdalene's, Paddington. On the same side was Thomas Helmore (1811–90), who in 1842 became Vice-Principal, and in 1846 Precentor, of S. Mark's College, Chelsea. The

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Second Suppl., iii. 378; s.v. Stainer, Sir John.

² *Life and Letters*, p. 157.

³ Introduction to *Historical Edition of Hymns A. & M.*, p. 840.

services of the chapel at S. Mark's became famous in his time, but Helmore left even more enduring memorials in his *Manual of Plain-song*, 1850, and in the music to *The Hymnal Noted*, 1851.

William Dyce¹ the painter was also a worker in this field, for in 1843 he took a lead in this revival by publishing *The Book of Common Prayer Noted*. For a while there was keen and friendly strife as to the merits of the two methods; happily the Movement was wide enough to include the followers of both, and as a result English Church music is richer for the results of the Oxford Movement than ever it had been before.

¹ See above, p. 229.

CHAPTER VIII

SOME FURTHER RESULTS

LITERATURE, architecture, painting, embroidery, and music belong to the external world; and although the Oxford Movement has left abiding results in each of those arts, it has been concerned far more deeply with the things of the mind and of the soul. Even in the most cursory review of its effects three can hardly escape the most careless observer—its effect on education, its revival of the Religious Communities for men and for women, and its steady and heroic efforts made in the cause of Reunion.

The first men of the Oxford Movement were scholars and teachers; it was natural, therefore, that education should be quickened and enriched by their work. Two great English head masters, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth at Harrow, and Dr. Moberly at Winchester, had strong sympathies with the Tractarians, but the tide of the Movement ran too strong to be confined within the limits of existing public schools, and it produced founders of its own. The earliest

of these was William Sewell (1804-74), Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, who, although a vigorous critic of the Movement, was broadly in sympathy with it, and designed his College of S. Peter at Radley (founded in 1847) to be a public school definitely on the lines of the teaching of the Prayer Book; the fast as well as the festival days were observed there, and great care was taken with the chapel services. Five years before, in 1843, with the aid of the Irish Primate, Lord J. G. Beresford, Archbishop of Armagh, Sewell had founded S. Columba's College, at Rathfarnham, near Dublin, but his hopeless incapacity for business had led the College deep into debt. The College continued to be linked to the Movement under the Wardenship of George Williams, who held the post from 1850 to 1856. Radley, though financially involved by Sewell's management, was rescued by the generosity of some laymen of the Movement, particularly J. G. Hubbard (afterwards first Lord Addington), and has made its way as a great public school. Thomas Stevens, the founder and first Warden of Bradfield College, was another who, touched by the Movement, spent himself and his patrimony in building that great school.¹

But greatest and most successful of all such

¹ On him see T. Mozley's *Reminiscences*, ii. 18-23.

founders was Nathaniel Woodard (1811-91). After his ordination in 1841 Woodard had worked as a curate in North-East London, and had become impressed with the truth that unity among the various classes of society is best promoted by their being educated together, and learning from their childhood the same religion. In 1848 he published a famous pamphlet, *A Plea for the Middle Classes*, maintaining that they were neglected in the matter of education, and he followed it up by his *Public Schools for the Middle Classes*. Into his great scheme there is no need to enter, it is enough to say that he was emphatically a man of large designs with the power to realize them. In the south he began his work by opening, in 1848, a school at Shoreham. In 1853 the first of his great schools was opened, S. John's College, Hurstpierpoint; S. Nicolas' College, Lancing, followed in 1854. The school at Shoreham was removed to S. Saviour's, Ardingly, in 1870, and to these was added S. Michael's College for girls at Bognor, in 1894, while a church school, All Saints, Bloxham, founded in 1860, was handed over by its founder to the S. Nicolas Society in 1896. Meanwhile S. Chad's College, Denstone, for the Midlands, had been opened in 1873, built largely by a generous Tractarian layman, Sir Percival Heywood, at a cost

exceeding £70,000. S. Oswald's, Ellesmere, in 1884, and S. Cuthbert's, Worksop, in 1895, were founded for those of narrower means. The Midland group of schools includes S. Anne's, Abbots Bromley, 1873, S. Mary's, Abbots Bromley, 1882, and S. Winifred's, Bangor, in 1887, all of them for girls. Most distinguished too among this group are the girls' colleges, Queen Margaret's at Scarborough, and Queen Ethelburga's at Harrogate. In the west, King Alfred's College at Taunton was opened in 1880. In all it is said that Dr. Woodard raised over half a million pounds for working out his great plan. His work did not pass without reward. He was made Canon of Manchester by Mr. Gladstone in 1870, and in the same year Lord Salisbury, at his installation as Chancellor at Oxford, created him D.C.L. His work aroused bitter opposition from the opponents of the Revival, but his courage and fair-mindedness triumphed over all obstacles.

From the first he was linked with the Movement. Three of Dr. Mozley's famous sermons published among his *University Sermons* were preached at festivals at Hurstpierpoint or Lancing, while Dr. Bloxam was a benefactor to this latter college. Dr. Woodard's work received its crown when the magnificent chapel of Lancing College, designed to serve as a centre

for all the schools, was consecrated in July, 1911, in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In a chapel in the crypt of that splendid shrine the body of Dr. Woodard lies.

No spiritual result of the Oxford Movement is so remarkable as the revival of the community life in the English Church. The idea of such a life had never died out in England, and from time to time in the period between 1559 (when the last of the old communities were dissolved) and 1833, attempts were made to realize it.¹ The idea of some institution corresponding to the *Béguines* in Belgium had struck the poet Southey,² but the spiritual motive which alone could produce such a revival was furnished by the Oxford Movement. In 1839 the project of a sisterhood suggested itself independently to Newman and to Pusey. Newman at first despaired of the project, but in 1840 letters between Keble, Newman, and Pusey refer to the matter, and on Trinity Sunday (June 5th), 1841, Miss Marian Rebecca Hughes dedicated herself in S. Mary's, Oxford, to the religious life.³ She made her vow of dedication to Dr. Pusey, who hesitated

¹ For an account of these the writer may refer to his article in the *Dictionary of English Church History*, s. v. Religious Orders, Modern, p. 449.

² See his *Colloquies*, ii. 330.

³ See above, p. 142.



CARICATURE SKETCH OF THE SCHOOL, CHURCH, AND MR. NEWMAN'S BUILDINGS
("PRIORY") AT LITTLEMORE IN 1844.

to receive such a profession, as he had no authority from the bishop to do it, and later on he received such authority. Meanwhile attempts to form communities for men were proceeding. When Mr. Newman retired to Littlemore in 1842 he proposed to build a monastery and found a community. He and his friends at Littlemore lived a strict community life until they left the English Church in 1845, but they were bound by no vows; and the experiment was not a religious order, though unquestionably it paved the way for such orders in the future.

In April, 1844, other Churchmen were at work, and Dr. Hook of Leeds, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord John Manners (afterwards seventh Duke of Rutland) consulted with others as to establishing a Sisterhood of Mercy as a memorial to Southey, who had died in 1843. The suggestion came originally from Lord John Manners.¹ A sisterhood was founded, with the approval of Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, at 17 Park Village West, N.W., in the parish of Christ Church, Albany Street, of which the vicar, W. Dodsworth, was a follower of the Movement. This first of the revived communities for women was merged,

¹ See a letter from the Duke to the Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell in 1905, printed in the latter's *Dr. Pusey* (Leaders of the Church Series), 1907, pp. 62-4.

in 1854, into a larger community, the Society of the Holy Trinity of Devonport, which had been founded by Miss Priscilla Lydia Sellon at Devonport in 1848, with the express approval of the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Phillpotts. A year before, in 1847, Canon Chamberlain, Vicar of S. Thomas's, and Student of Christ Church, founded at Oxford the Community of S. Thomas the Martyr. In 1848 the Sisterhood of S. Mary the Virgin, Wantage, was begun under the guidance of the vicar of that town, W. J. Butler, afterwards Dean of Lincoln.

Such societies began to spring up in and around centres of the Revival. In 1849 Miss Hughes, professed in 1841, founded in Oxford the Community of the Holy and Undivided Trinity; in 1851 the great Community of All Saints was founded by Mr. Upton Richards, incumbent of the Margaret Street Chapel, and in 1852 the Community of S. John the Baptist was founded at Clewer by Harriett Monsell, inspired by the saintly rector, Canon T. T. Carter. So far these efforts had found shelter in dioceses of prelates not hostile to the Movement—London, Exeter, and Oxford. In 1855 two communities arose in the Diocese of Chichester—the Community of S. Margaret at East Grinstead, founded by John Mason Neale, and the Community of the Blessed

Virgin Mary, founded in connection with S. Paul's, Brighton, by its vicar, A. D. Wagner. There is reason to think that the approval of the Bishop of Chichester, who was markedly opposed to the Oxford Movement, was secured by Bishop S. Wilberforce of Oxford, who was also a Sussex squire, and for part of each year lived at Lavington in the diocese of Chichester. Steadily the revival went on; new communities were founded in 1856, 1857, 1858, the last being the first revived sisterhood in the Northern Province, the Community of S. Peter at Horbury, founded by the vicar, Canon John Sharp, and Mrs. Sidney Lear. Through the 'sixties the revival continued; one community was founded in 1861, another in 1865, two in 1866, one in 1867, and two in 1868, and so the list goes on; 1870, 1873, 1874, 1877 each saw a fresh community for women in addition to those already existing, while in 1879 two more were begun.

The 'eighties saw only one fresh order—the Community of the Epiphany at Truro, founded by the bishop, G. H. Wilkinson, but in the next decade new communities were begun in 1891, 1894, 1895, 1896, and 1897, and an enclosed Order of the Love of God was founded for those desiring to live the contemplative life in 1907. These names and

dates do not entirely exhaust the list, but, such as they are, they point to a phenomenon unexampled not merely in the story of the Church of England, but in the history of the whole Church of God; and they show that, whatever the external checks and reverses, the spiritual tide of the Movement was flowing deep and strong.

But such a revival was not to go unchallenged. The Devonport sisterhood early provoked fierce attacks, due in part to Miss Sellon's abnormal views of religious obedience, in part to its connection with Dr. Pusey. With great courage and common sense the bishop of the diocese, Dr. Phillpotts, in 1849 conducted a public inquiry into some charges and concluded it by expressing warmly his gratitude to Miss Sellon.¹ Three years later a fresh storm arose which produced a vivid pamphlet literature, and the bishop withdrew from being official visitor of the society (not, however, on any doctrinal ground); in his published *Letter* announcing this decision he said, "Though I cease to be your visitor, yet I shall be at all times glad to receive you, and to have the same cordial communication with you which I have been accustomed to have," and he subscribed himself, "Your faithful,

¹ *Report of the Inquiry*, etc. Plymouth, 1849.

admiring, and affectionate friend.”¹ Five years later, in 1857, Dr. Neale and the sisters of S. Margaret’s, East Grinstead, were mobbed at the funeral of a sister at Lewes. Neale was knocked down, and the sisters, hustled and insulted, were rescued with difficulty from the mob. Here, again, the riot was due not so much to any doctrinal question as to an alleged attempt to influence the sister’s testamentary bequests. The Bishop of Chichester withdrew from the visitorship, but Lord Richard Cavendish and other laymen stood forward in defence of the persecuted party, and the attack in the long run failed.² Such efforts were to be expected, but they did not check the steady progress of the Movement. Dr. Tait, as Bishop of London, strongly opposed as he was to the Oxford Movement as a whole, abated his opposition in the question of sisterhoods, and used to say that he and Bishop S. Wilberforce “were absolutely at one with respect to them.”³

Communities for men grew more slowly, one or two small attempts at such orders were made in the earlier years of the Movement,

¹ *A Letter to Miss Sellon*, etc., by Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter. London, 1852.

² *Memoir of J. M. Neale, D.D.*, pp. 266–9.

³ *Life of Archbishop Tait*, i. 452.

but it was not until 1866 that, inspired by a sermon by Mr. Keble, Richard Meux Benson, Student of Christ Church and Vicar of Cowley, Oxford, founded with two other priests the Society of S. John the Evangelist. Father Benson, who survived until 1915, lived to see the Society established in four continents and a household word in the Church of England. In 1892 Dr. Gore, now Bishop of Oxford, founded the Community of the Resurrection which moved to Mirfield in Yorkshire in 1898. To its work the Church bears witness to-day. In 1891 the Society of the Sacred Mission was begun by Father H. H. Kelly, and in 1903 it moved to Kelham, with the consequence that that obscure village, like Mirfield and Cowley, is now a familiar and grateful name to multitudes of Englishmen at home and abroad. A smaller Order, the Society of the Divine Compassion, was founded by the Hon. J. G. Adderley and others in 1894, and its work has been abundantly blessed in East London and elsewhere. An attempt to revive the Benedictine rule in the English Church was made by the Rev. J. L. Lyne, better known as Father Ignatius, in 1863, and later, and independently, in 1898 by Mr. Aelred Carlyle, under the special sanction of Dr. Temple, then Archbishop of Canterbury. Father Ignatius built a convent at Llanthony, Dom Aelred a



RICHARD MEUX BENSON:
Student of Christ Church, Oxford. Founder of the Society
of S. John the Evangelist, Cowley.

convent on Caldey Island ; but Father Ignatius's community appears to have ceased with his death, while a large part of the Caldey community seceded to Rome in 1913, though a faithful remnant remained loyal, and settled, with the cordial sanction of the bishop of the diocese, at Pershore in Worcestershire. So the revival continues, slowly but very surely ; in 1912 it was calculated that there are many more women in Religious Orders in England than there were when the Religious Houses were dissolved by Henry VIII.¹

A kindred result of the Movement was the growth of guilds and societies with a religious object. The Laudian revival in its later stages had produced such a result in the Religious Societies of the later seventeenth century, and the Oxford Movement was true to the type. To record the names and purposes of such guilds would need a treatise ; it may be sufficient to mention here those that were best known. First comes the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity at Oxford, founded in 1844 by Alexander Forbes, later Bishop of Brechin. It was originally the Guild or Brotherhood of S. Mary the Virgin, and its first purpose

¹ At the Dissolution the number of sisters is calculated at 745, in 1909 there were in England at least some 1,300. The tables are in App. ii of Bishop R. H. Weller's *Religious Orders in the Anglican Communion*, Milwaukee, 1909.

was the study of ecclesiastical art. To this was added later, fellowship in prayer and works of charity, and mutual encouragement in regularity of life, and its name was changed to its present form. The growth of college guilds and Church societies, and the founding of Pusey House supplied to a great extent the needs which the older brotherhood met, and it continues chiefly as a society for senior members of the University.¹ Possibly its greatest work was to inspire the idea of a devotional society in the University of Cambridge, the S.T.C. (originally the "Societas Theologica Cantabrigiensis," which became in 1867 the "Sacrae Trinitatis Confraternitas"). This flourishing guild, begun in 1857 by George Williams, Fellow of King's, fostered by the learning and devotion of his brother-Fellow, William Ralph Churton, who was its president from 1868 until his death in 1897, has been extraordinarily successful in uniting Churchmen, graduates and undergraduates, at Cambridge in a union for prayer and worship. At its jubilee in 1907 the confraternity had 800 members on its roll, of whom 90 were in residence; and since its foundation 14 of its

¹ *John Hungerford Pollen* (1912), pp. 89, 177, 197. See also Liddon, *Life of Dr. Pusey*, ii. 135. Some account of the Brotherhood appears by a former and unfriendly member, F. Meyrick, in his *Memories* (1905), pp. 173-5.

members have been raised to the episcopate, beginning with James Russell Woodford, Bishop of Ely in 1873, including Dr. Smythies, of Zanzibar ; Dr. Bickersteth, of Central Japan ; Dr. Hicks, of Bloemfontein ; Dr. Lyttelton, of Southampton ; Dr. Collins, of Gibraltar ; and reaching down to the present Bishops of Moray, Edinburgh, and Nyasaland.¹

These were academical societies : a yet more famous association, which did splendid service in the second stage of the Revival, as it spread outside the universities, was the ever-to-be-remembered Guild of S. Alban, which was founded by S. F. Palmer, a surgeon at Birmingham, in 1851. The Guild was a society of laymen, united on a strictly religious basis for prayer, study, and Church work of every sort. Clergymen could be admitted as associates, but they had no part in the working of the Guild. The Guild, despite its high standard, grew ; by 1862 it had branches in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Nottingham, Hull, Bradford, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Oxford, and Frome. To record its activities would require a volume. Among its brethren were Edward Steere, later

¹ For these facts the writer is indebted to *The Story of S.T.C.*, by C. G. Griffinhoofe. Cambridge, printed privately, 1915.

the Bishop of Zanzibar ; Edmund Sedding ; John Walter Lea, most learned of laymen ; and A. R. Mowbray and J. T. Hayes among publishers. "Members," says its historian, "came from all classes of the community ; the peerage only was unrepresented."¹ In 1856 its monthly paper, now the *Guildsman*, began. Since 1851 the guild movement has spread far and widely, and a guild of one sort or another is almost an inseparable accident of any well-worked parish. This form of organization, it should not be forgotten, is in the modern English Church a direct result of the Revival, which began at Oxford in 1833.

Yet another field of the Church on earth was fertilized by the tide of the Oxford Movement—the field of Christian reunion. Here the men of the Oxford Movement were true to their spiritual ancestry ; and in this matter, if nowhere else, the Tractarians proved their direct descent from the older divines. The Oxford Movement led to a serious longing for the unity of Christendom and to more than one effort in that high cause : efforts which were directed both towards the Roman and towards the Eastern Church. At first, indeed, the Movement seemed little likely to aid the

¹ *A Layman's Thoughts on Some Questions of the Day* (1896), by A. W. Crickmay, The Guild of S. Alban, pp. 178–204.

cause of reunion with the Roman See : for it was distinctly anti-Roman in origin, and the *Tracts for the Times* were advertised as "Tracts against Popery and Dissent."¹ Mr. Keble, in the *Christian Year*,² had spoken of the Roman Church as fallen, while Mr. Newman, in the *Lyra Apostolica*,³ wrote strongly against reunion with Rome, and was fiercely anti-Roman in his teaching. Conversely the Movement was disliked and derided by such different English Roman Catholics as Dr. Lingard and Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman.⁴ Yet the desire for reunion with Rome had never slumbered long in the English Church, and it had been expressed by English Churchmen in the decades before the Movement. Dr. Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham in 1811, had delivered a charge on "The Grounds of Union between the Churches of England and Rome considered"; while in 1818 a learned English clergyman, Samuel Wix, F.R.S. and F.S.A., had published a monograph urging the holding of a council with a view to accommodating the differences between the two Churches. In 1824 the famous Dr. Doyle, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare

¹ See above, p. 12. ² Poem for November 5th.

³ Nos. clxxiii and note and clxxiv.

⁴ See the *Life of Dr. Lingard*, pp. 280-1, and Dr. Wiseman's *Lectures* delivered in Lent, 1836.

and Leighlin, put out a proposal for reunion, declaring that "on most of the points at issue" there appeared to him no essential differences. That proposal met with no formal response, but there was a drawing together of some of the Irish bishops of both communions, which was so close that Dr. John Jebb, Bishop of Limerick (1775-1833), one of the old school of High Churchmen, on one occasion addressed the people of Munroe after Mass from the altar of the Roman Catholic parish church. Dr. Jebb, however, died in 1833, and Dr. Doyle a year later. At the time nothing came from these closer relations, but they show that a desire for reunion with Rome was no invention of the Tractarians.

The English Roman Catholics for the most part disliked and derided the Movement. But there were exceptions; amongst them, the devout Leicestershire squire—Ambrose March Phillipps De Lisle,¹ who had become a Roman Catholic as a boy of sixteen, in 1825, but who retained a great affection for the English Church. The Oxford leaders, however, had no intercourse with Roman Catholics until, by a strange chance (a carriage accident in a Leicestershire lane), De Lisle became acquainted with J. R. Bloxam, Fellow of Magdalen, the true begetter of the cere-

¹ See above, p. 156.

monial revival.¹ The acquaintance led to a correspondence which lasted over nine months of the year 1841, and an exchange of visits between De Lisle and Bloxam. The friendship between them, or, at any rate, their correspondence, was cut short in October, 1841, by the sudden reception into the Roman Church of R. W. Sibthorp, which shocked Bloxam and made him drop the correspondence. This interchange of letters and visits has been absurdly exaggerated and magnified by Mr. Purcell in his *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps De Lisle*.²

¹ See above, p. 159.

² London, 1900, 2 vols. Chapters xi-xiii, which deal with the subject, bristle with inaccuracies; and the measure of Mr. Purcell's carefulness as a writer may be judged from his ascription of Newman's *Anglican Letters* to his sister, Mrs. J. B. Mozley (i. 195).

Mrs. J. B. Mozley was not related to Newman, nor did she edit the book referred to, which was the work of her brilliant and well-known sister-in-law, Miss Anne Mozley. Mr. Purcell's knowledge of Tractarian history was so slight that he actually tells his readers that "James Mozley and the late Dean Church" joined Ward's (the Romanizing party) in the Movement (*op. cit.*, i. 241). Mr. Purcell, after these and similar efforts, feels able to say that "it is remarkable that in the best attempt as yet published to describe the Oxford Movement, Dean Church entirely omits to mention Newman's intimate relations with De Lisle, a *Catholic*, and Bloxam of Magdalen College, the most docile of disciples" (i. 244). The explanation is really contained in Mr. Purcell's book.

With W. G. Ward, whom De Lisle had come to know at Oxford, the correspondence went further and lasted longer, but Ward's face was already set towards Rome. The first real step towards reunion was Newman's Tract No. 90, itself based, it is generally believed, on an eirenicon by an English Franciscan, Dr. Christopher Davenport, published in 1633. Tract 90 showed clearly enough that the Thirty-nine Articles were not designed to contradict the Decrees of the Council of Trent, and so made a way for an understanding. It was published in 1841, and Bishop Wiseman, in a *Letter to Lord Shrewsbury* in that year, viewed the Movement with sympathy, and suggested that explanations might be made. In 1841 a letter to the French *Univers*, written by W. G. Ward and put into French by Dalgairns, expressing a burning desire for reunion, was circulated also in Germany and in Italy and aroused some excitement in England, as well it might, for it was remarkably "Roman" in its language, and proceeded from the Romanizing party.¹

Newman's relations with De Lisle were never intimate nor even cordial, while Dr. Bloxam's part in the story was so subordinate to that of the great actors that his name finds no place in the dean's narrative.

¹ On this letter and its authorship see *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, pp. 186-202.

Little fruit could come from such efforts, for among Roman Catholics there were two parties—one school regarding the Movement sympathetically, the other regarding any thought of reunion as a mischievous device to hinder waverers from accepting the papal claims. And reunion did not admit of much serious discussion in 1841, when one of the parties was fighting for its life. The secessions of 1845 in some degree checked the Reunion movement, although in that year a prayer for the reunion of Christendom was circulated (with other prayers) by Keble, Pusey, and Marriott, and has been in use ever since. In 1857 was founded the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom, the only obligation of whose members was to pray daily for unity. The leading spirit on the Roman side was again De Lisle; among Anglicans who joined in the work was Dr. A. P. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin; it included among its members various Roman Catholic dignitaries and some distinguished Eastern prelates. So far as Rome was concerned it seemed to fail, for Dr. Manning was bitterly opposed to it and secured its condemnation at Rome in 1864, with the result that Roman Catholics were bidden to withdraw from it. A little later, Manning, now archbishop, published an attack

upon the English Church. To this Dr. Pusey replied in a learned *Eirenicon* in 1865 in which he pleaded, as English divines had done before him, for mutual explanations between the two communions. He did more. He went to France and interviewed various French bishops, when the Archbishop of Paris (Mgr. Georges Darboy, afterwards martyred in the Commune, May 27, 1871) was especially cordial to his effort. Two English bishops, Dr. Hamilton of Salisbury and Dr. Ellicott of Gloucester and Bristol, warmly approved his book, but the English Roman Catholics regarded it unfavourably, and Dr. Newman replied to it in a published *Letter*. From 1865 to 1870 the hopes of an understanding rose higher, and the more learned followers of the Movement were active in the cause. The Bishop of Brechin published in 1867 and 1868 his *Commentary on the Thirty-Nine Articles*, while a layman, a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, G. F. Cobb, printed a treatise, *The Kiss of Peace, or England and Rome at one on the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*,¹ a work of considerable value. Dr. Pusey again visited certain French bishops, and Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, offered to present the English case at the forthcoming Vatican

¹ On Mr. Cobb see Lord Halifax, *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders* (1912), p. 59.

Council, and a learned Belgian priest, M. de Buck, threw himself into the cause. In 1869 and in 1870 Dr. Pusey published a second and a third *Eirenicon*, but the Ultramontane party was in the ascendant at Rome, and these efforts met with no response.

A strange effort was made in 1877 by an able and eccentric clergyman, Dr. F. G. Lee, Vicar of All Saints', Lambeth, who has already been noticed in connection with the ceremonial revival.¹ This was called the Order of Corporate Reunion, and made a great display of mystery. Dr. Lee, it was asserted, had been consecrated a bishop by prelates whose orders were recognized at Rome, and the idea of his society was to bring about Reunion by re-ordaining English clergymen, and so giving them orders which Rome must acknowledge. For two years the "Order" published a *Reunion Magazine*, which made bitter attacks on the leading clergymen of the Oxford Movement in London. Of its rather shadowy bishops, two—Dr. Mossman, a Lincolnshire rector, in 1885, and Dr. Lee himself, in 1901—were received into the Roman Communion on their death-beds, while a third, Dr. Seccombe, a learned Norfolk magistrate, who in his time had been a member both of the Eastern and Roman Communions,

¹ Above, p. 199, and p. 214, note.

died and was buried as an English layman, and as the churchwarden of his parish church. Dr. Lee had done good work in his early days in the cause of reunion, and was secretary for some years of the Association for Promoting Unity; but by 1877 he seems to have lost faith in the English Church. His eccentric effort, so soon as it became known, was vigorously repudiated by the leaders of the Revival, and from first to last it would seem to have been a small and rather discreditable affair, and its results, if it can be said to have had any worth noting, damaged the high cause it professed to serve.¹

In 1894 a very different attempt was made to heal the breach, and this was a direct result of the Oxford Movement; in many ways it is the most interesting as it is certainly the most fully told. Some learned French priests, originally interested in the subject by Lord Halifax,² began to study afresh the question of Anglican ordinations, and the most famous of them, the Abbé Duchesne, concluded that English Orders "*might be* recognized as valid." It was hoped that the discussion of English

¹ For a brief account of the Order of Corporate Reunion see an article by the present writer in the *Dict. of English Church History*, s.v., Reunion I, with the references there given.

² Charles, second Viscount Halifax.

Orders might lead to further discussion by divines on both sides on other subjects. The Pope, Leo XIII, became interested in the matter and appointed a Commission to examine the question. The Archbishop of York (Dr. Maclagan) and Mr. Gladstone took an interest in the movement, which was widely discussed in 1895 and 1896. A weekly review, *La Revue Anglo-Romaine*, began to be published in Paris in 1895 as a means of friendly discussion between the English and French clergy. Cardinal Vaughan, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, bitterly hostile to the project from the first, forbade English Roman Catholics to contribute to the *Revue*. The Commission appointed by the pope contained scholars who were known to believe English ordinations to be valid, but the findings of this Commission, whatever they were, were submitted to a further Commission of Cardinals, and there the party of Cardinal Vaughan triumphed. In September, 1896, the Bull *Apostolicae Curae* declared that the question of Anglican ordinations had been settled nearly two hundred years before (in 1704) adversely at Rome. The immediate results of this decision were to cause the *Revue Anglo-Romaine* to cease, after fifty-one numbers, in November, 1896, and a little later to cause the issue of a *Responsio* by the English Archbishops of

Canterbury and York in 1897 which affirmed clearly the teaching of the English Church on the questions of the Priesthood, the Real Presence, and the Sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist—a document which will be an important factor in future negotiations. And the Bull itself, though the fact was little noticed at the time, leaves a loophole “through which, in the future, much may issue.”¹ Certainly the attempt brought the whole question of Reunion home to many English Churchmen who had given little thought to it before, and it led to the position of the English Church being understood abroad as it was never understood before.² And, in the words of one of its strong opponents, Mr. Jowett, the well-known Master of Balliol, the Oxford Movement “rendered a signal service to the English Church in making us regard our [Roman] Catholic brethren in a kindlier and more sympathetic spirit. Henceforward the Church of Rome was to be no longer regarded as Antichrist, but in a manner more in accordance with Christian charity and with the truth of history.”³

Reunion meant for the men of the Oxford

¹ Lord Halifax, *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*, p. 392.

² *Ibid.*, p. 397.

³ B. Jowett, in *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*. App. D, pp. 434-5.

Movement, as it meant for their predecessors and for their successors, a reunion not only with the Roman, but also with the Eastern Church. Here again they were treading, very exactly, where great English divines before them had trod. The first of the Oxford men to take up this work was William Palmer (1811-79), Fellow of Magdalen, brother of the first Lord Selborne. In 1839 the Grand Duke Michael of Russia visited Oxford, and Palmer, encouraged by the venerable president of his college, Dr. Routh, petitioned the Grand Duke to bring about an understanding between the English and the Russian Churches. Next year (1840) Palmer followed this up by a visit to Russia in order to explain the position of the English Church, and Dr. Routh gave him a formal letter to the Russian bishops asking them to admit Mr. Palmer to Communion if, after examination, they considered his faith to be orthodox. William Palmer laboured earnestly in this cause, and he was aided by two remarkable and able bishops—Dr. Luscombe (1776-1846), who had been consecrated in 1825 to minister to the English Churchmen on the continent of Europe; and Dr. Patrick Torry (1763-1852) the venerable Bishop of St. Andrews. In 1846 Palmer published a most learned *Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Eastern Church*,

which was translated into Greek and published at Athens in 1851. But Palmer's efforts were to some extent counteracted by his own secession to Rome in 1855.¹ Another labourer in the same cause and a stauncher English Churchman was R. W. Blackmore (1792–1882), who was a member of Merton College, Oxford, and was chaplain to the Russia Company from 1819 to 1847. His work for reunion remains in his two books, a *History of the Church of Russia* (1842), and his *Doctrine of the Russian Church* (1845). Another most loyal follower of the Movement who spent much of his life in this cause was George Williams (1814–78)² who came from Eton to King's College, Cambridge, of which in time he became senior Fellow. He accompanied Dr. Alexander as his chaplain to the East in 1841, when the ill-starred bishopric in Jerusalem was founded; he was attracted to the post by an interest in the Eastern Churches. In 1844 Williams went as chaplain to Petrograd and Cronstadt, and work for reunion with the East became a part of his life. In 1864 he founded the Eastern Church

¹ For an account of W. Palmer's labours see his *Notes of a Visit to the Russian Church*, selected and arranged by Cardinal Newman (1882); Dr. Neale's *Life and Times of Bishop Patrick Torry* (1856), ch. vi; and *Russia and the English Church*, i (1895), ed. W. J. Birkbeck.

² See above, p. 241 and p. 252.

Association to bring about a better understanding with the Eastern Churches; and the association gained much episcopal support, the Metropolitan of Serbia (the Archbishop of Belgrade), the Bishops of Salisbury (Hamilton) and Oxford (Wilberforce) joining it as patrons.

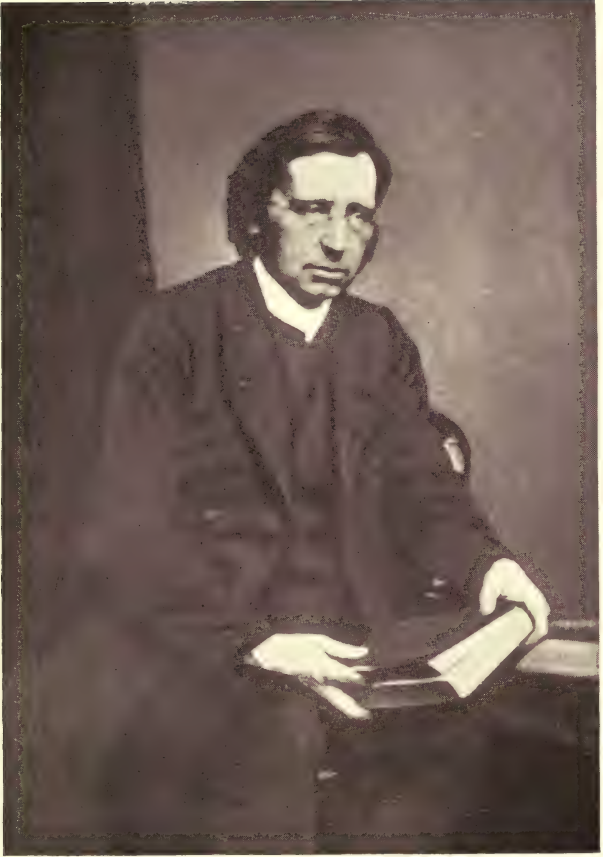
The direct concern of the Tractarians with the Eastern Churches was shown by the strong protest against the action of Samuel Gobat, Bishop in Jerusalem, who had tried to proselytize among Greek Christians, which was sent to the Patriarchs in 1854. The protest was chiefly the work of Dr. J. M. Neale, but it was signed by Mr. Keble, Dr. Pusey, Isaac Williams, Charles Marriott, W. J. Copeland, George Williams, and by some thousand other clergymen, among them being William Stubbs, the famous English historian and later Bishop of Oxford.¹ That protest is a remarkable witness, though little use has hitherto been made of it, both to the strength of the Movement in 1853 and to its keen and intelligent sympathy with the Eastern Churches.

¹ For the petition (in English and Greek) and for some of its signatories, see E. G. K. Browne, *History of the Tractarian Movement* (1856), App. OO, pp. 350-6. The protest without the names appears in the text of the second edition (1856) of this strange work, pp. 234 seq., which Dr. Newman, in a private letter, described as a "trashy book."

The Bonn Conferences on Reunion, held in 1874 and 1875 were attended by Eastern, Old Catholic, and Anglican Churchmen, and at each of them among the English representatives was Dr. Liddon, who wrote a preface to the English translation of the Report of the Conferences of 1874 and 1875.¹

But of all followers of the Movement after George Williams the name of John Mason Neale is among the most eminent in this regard. Neale made the Eastern Church live again for English Churchmen by his great *History of the Holy Eastern Church* (of which he lived to publish only five volumes, the sixth was completed after his death by George Williams), by his delightful story *Theodora Phranza*, and by his translation of the Greek Liturgies, while his *Hymns of the Holy Eastern Church* (1862) brought it nearer to many who read neither his histories nor his tales. Neale's labours were fully appreciated in Russia, in 1851 the Emperor Alexander sent him £100 as an acknowledgement of his labours on the *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, while in 1860, when he received a magnificent present of icons, and a rare book with a touching inscription from Philaret, the great Metropolitan of

¹ *Report of the Proceedings of the Reunion Conference held at Bonn, etc.* Translated, with a Preface, by H. P. Liddon, D.D. London : Pickering, 1876.



DR. JOHN MASON NEALE.

Moscow, he wrote : " I had no idea until now how big a man I was in Russia." ¹ The labours of Neale and his fellow workers began to bear fruit. In 1863 the Canterbury Convocation appointed a committee to consider intercommunion with the Russo-Greek Church, and each Lambeth Conference from 1867 onwards has made advances in that direction. The story of these belongs to the history of reunion in general, but the moving cause of them was the spirit which dwelt in the men of the Oxford Movement.

Another movement for reunion with the Old Catholics and with the so-called Jansenist Church of Holland is more recent, but it too sprang from the Revival ; but enough has been said to show the energy and power of the Movement which while it was rebuilding that which was broken down at home, could spend its strength in these serious and persistent attempts to bring about a better understanding with Catholics in the West and in the East.

Time would fail to mark other channels through which the tide of the Movement has flowed and is flowing still. The Universities' Mission to Central Africa, with its three sees, its sisterhood, and its cathedrals at Zanzibar and at Likoma, has been watered by the blood of men who were fired by the message of the

¹ *Memoir*, pp. 177 and 287.

Oxford Movement; the Mission to Melanesia, led by the heroic Bishop Selwyn, where Bishop Patteson died a martyr's death, was permeated by the same spirit, while Calcutta has in the Oxford Mission a later but not less splendid example of the power of the Movement to reach native students in the universities of India.

At home the Christian Social Union, though it owed much to the leading of Bishop Westcott and to the social teaching of F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, is a true product of the Oxford Movement; not only has its direct inspiration come from a later generation of the followers of the Revival, but its insistence on the corporate idea, which the doctrine of the visible Catholic Church involves as opposed to the individualism of Protestantism, lies at its root.

So gradually the stream has spread, its course marked in one direction by such innovations as parochial Missions, Retreats, and Days of Devotion, in another by splendid churches, more frequent services, a greater care for the outward things of the worship of God. To attempt to sketch its rise from Mr. Keble's Assize sermon in 1833 to our own day is to be reminded of the healing stream which Ezekiel saw, a stream which was spreading as the attempt was being made to



*INTERIOR OF THE NEW CHAPEL OF PUSEY HOUSE,
OXFORD, DEDICATED IN 1914.
(From a drawing by the Architect, W. Temple Moore).*

measure it : "He measured a thousand cubits, and he caused me to pass through the waters, and the waters were to the ankles. Again he measured a thousand . . . the waters were to the knees. Again he measured a thousand . . . the waters were to the loins. Afterwards he measured a thousand, and it was a river I could not pass through : for the waters were risen, waters to swim in, a river that could not be passed through."¹ Of the story of the Oxford Movement that great vision of the prophet in its measure is true.

"Even with so soft a surge and an increasing,
Drunk of the sand and thwarted of the clod,
Stilled and astir and checked and never ceasing
Spreadeth the great wave of the grace of God ;

Bears to the marishes and bitter places
Healing for hurt and for their poisons balm,
Isle after isle in infinite embraces
Floods and enfolds and fringes with the palm."²

The study of Church history has been said to be "a cordial for drooping spirits"; whether that statement is universally true may be open to question, but it is true of the story of the Oxford Movement. Yet those who study it do well to remember what it was and is. It began, continued, and is to-day a

¹ Ezek. xlvii. 3-5.

² F. W. H. Myers, *Saint Paul*, ed. 1894, pp. 22, 23.

strenuous attempt to preach JESUS CHRIST as for many years He had not been preached in England. The popular Evangelical theology laid stress on the work of CHRIST for us; the men of the Oxford Movement preached Him as a Living Master Who could teach now as well as save. It enforced self-discipline, hardness with self, often austerity; it inspired in its followers a hatred of all shams and pretence and unreality in religion,¹ it made men distrust their feelings. That note can be caught in a poem of Hurrell Froude's:—

“Sackcloth is a girdle good,
 Oh, bind it round thee still;
 Fasting, it is angels' food,
 And JESUS loved the night-air chill;
 Yet think not prayer and fast were given
 To make one step 'twixt earth and heaven.”²

It inspired men with the sense of a LORD Who was a living, personal Friend rather than the centre of a dogmatic system;³ some of its most characteristic hymns, as “JESU, meek and gentle,” “The King of Love,” are full of that inspiration, and thus it produced a type

¹ Church, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 191–2.

² *Lyra Apostolica*, No. xxxvi. In Froude's *Remains* a reference is added to the last line to Ephesians ii. 8.

³ On this see Principal Shairp's *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy* (1868), p. 329.

which to many observers is the perfection of the Christian character.

To the taunt that the Movement led to Rome the reply is clear ; of all the writers in the series of *Tracts for the Times* only one went to Rome. The others died as they had lived, faithful, devoted, and for the most part unrewarded servants of the Church they served so well.¹ Certainly they shrank from preferment almost as from an unclean thing. With very great difficulty Church was induced to accept the Deanery of S. Paul's, while Dr. Liddon thrice refused to become a bishop. The moral beauty of the Tractarians showed itself in their faces. In few other collections of portraits is there such distinction of form and beauty of feature as in the portraits of the men of the Oxford Movement.

The story of the Movement has this supreme attraction—to study it is to learn never to be afraid to take the unpopular or what seems to be the beaten side ; never to despair of God's Church nor of His truth. In the lives of the men whose honoured names this book records can be seen a beauty, a genius, a depth of spiritual power which are a reflection of the life of God. "They

¹ See Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 337, "The Movement not Roman," etc., and I. Williams, *Autobiography*, p. 120.

were lovely and pleasant in their lives"; and to read those lives is a sure cure for depression as to the English Church, its present or its future; to take up and read the old Tractarian story sends the fainthearted back again with fresh heart and new power. For these men of the Oxford Movement, whatever their mistakes or failings, witness to the fact that in the English Church, with all her anomalies and weaknesses, there are still present in their fullness the gifts of the Spirit and the power of the LORD.

To the men of 1833, the first generation of the Movement, Dean Church applied the words, "Show Thy servants Thy work, and their children Thy glory": their children in the English Church to-day may well claim for themselves the words of another Psalm—"The LORD hath done great things for us already, whereof we rejoice."

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